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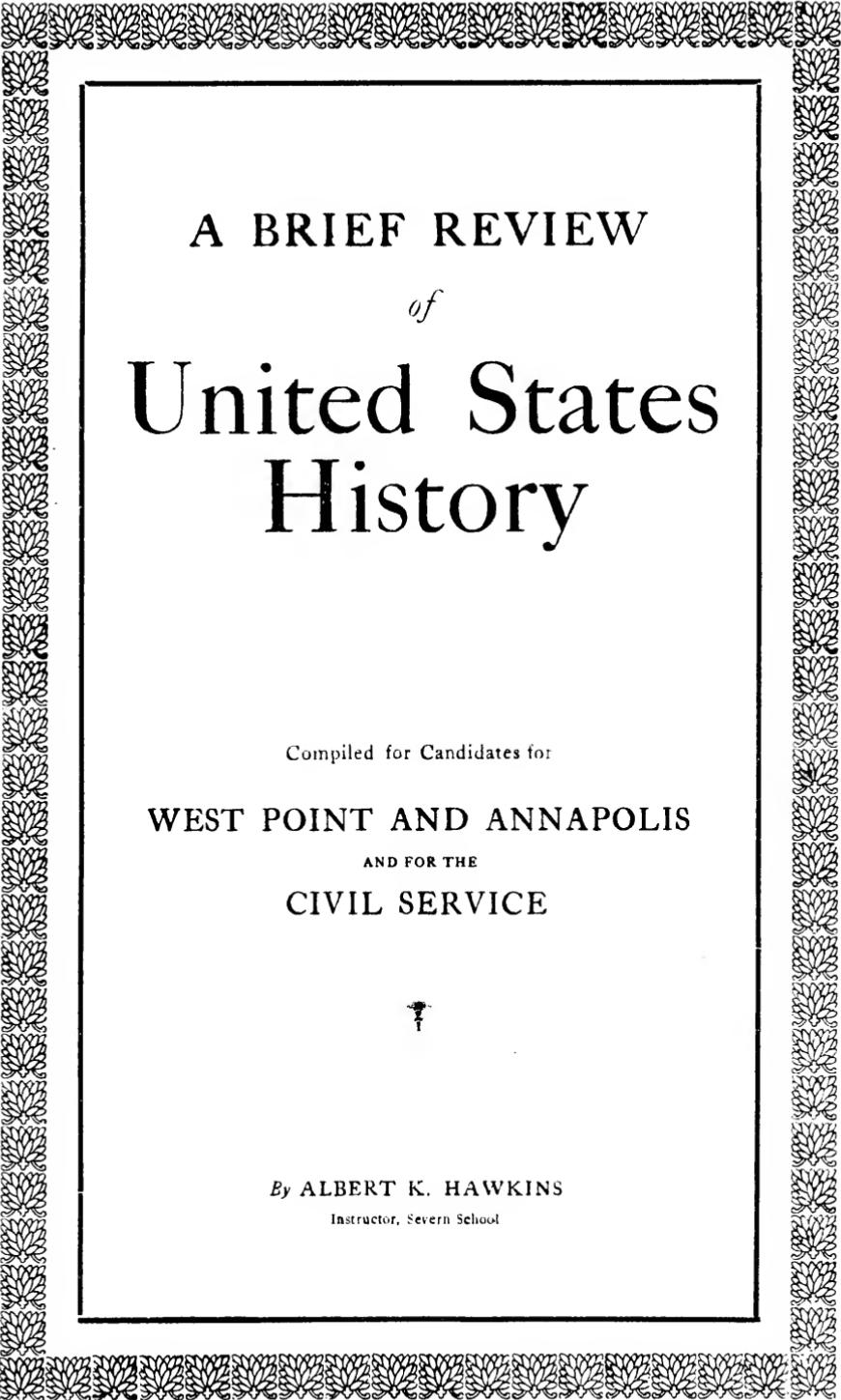


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A BRIEF REVIEW
of
United States
History

Compiled for Candidates for
WEST POINT AND ANNAPOLIS
AND FOR THE
CIVIL SERVICE



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Instructor, Severn School



A BRIEF REVIEW

of

United States History

INCLUDING

*America's Part in the
Great War*

COMPILED FOR CANDIDATES FOR

West Point, Annapolis and the Civil Service

By

Albert K. Hawkins

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PREFACE

This pamphlet was prepared to meet the needs of all who desire to make a brief but comprehensive review of United States history, and who wish to gain a grasp of the subject as a whole in the very limited time at their disposal. Especially should it appeal to those who are preparing to take the examinations for entrance to West Point or Annapolis, or for the Civil Service.

The average history text-book, with its five hundred to seven hundred pages of subject matter, serves but to confuse the student who must make a very quick review of the subject. On the other hand, many of the numerous outlines and condensed forms offer so little subject matter as to be practically worthless to the student who is not prepared to devote months to the study. The author has aimed to make this pamphlet serve the purposes of both outline and text. Where the student's time permits, it will be found most valuable as a guide to be used in connection with some standard text, and as such will be used in the class rooms at Severn School.

A. K. HAWKINS.

Severn School,
Boone, Md., June, 1919.

A Brief Review of United States History

THE MOUND BUILDERS.

Many centuries before the coming of the first Europeans to the shores of America this continent was inhabited by a race of semi-civilized beings about whom very little is known. They are known to history as the Mound Builders. Traces of the work of this pre-historic people may still be found in many parts of the country, particularly in the valleys of the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and in the region of the Great Lakes. Immense artificial mounds of earth in perfect geometric design remain today monuments to this mysterious people, a race which flourished in a period possibly antedating considerably the coming of the Indian. From these mounds have been taken clay pottery of superior construction, ornaments of silver, copper and bone, and highly polished metal and stone weapons. Considerable knowledge of mining is indicated by the excavations in the Lake Superior region, from which these people took masses of copper, sometimes weighing tons. Some of the mounds appear to have been defensive works, others to have served for ceremonial purposes, or for burial places. A few of them reach elevations of nearly a hundred feet and cover several acres; others, a few feet in height, extend for miles. Conclusive proof of the antiquity of these hillocks is found in the fact that on many of them are growing trees from four hundred to eight hundred years old.

A number of ingenious theories have been advanced to account for the origin in America of this interesting race. Some historians are of the opinion that the Mound Builders and kindred types were descendants of Asiatics that may have been driven by storm or a spirit of adventure to seek the shores of America. Assuming the birth-place of the human race to have been in Asia, the theory is plausible; yet this continent may have been peopled by way of Europe rather than by way of the Pacific. Much must ever remain, however, a matter of mere conjecture. That the present-day Indians are descendants of the Mound Builders is the claim of some writers; others hold that the race which raised the great mounds is wholly extinct. There is, however, a very apparent physical similarity between our Indians of extreme northwestern North America and certain Mongolians of northeastern Asia.

THE INDIAN.

There were several great divisions, or families, and numerous subdivisions, or tribes, of North American Indians. These may be outlined as follows:

1. The *Iroquois*, found for the most part in the Middle Atlantic states and about the shores of lakes Erie and Ontario. Six tribes of the Iroquois, the Cayugas, Mohawks, Oneidas, Senecas, Onandagas, and Tuscaroras were loosely united to form what was known as the Six Nations. This confederation was found chiefly in New York. The Cherokees and Pawnees were tribes of Iroquois in the Ohio Valley. The Iroquois were among the most warlike of American Indians.

2. The *Algonquin* family surrounded the Iroquois on all sides, occupying territory from Labrador through New England and Canada to the base of the Rocky Mountains and as far south as South Carolina. Some of the more noted of the tribes were the Mohegan, Leni Lenape, Miami, Illinois, Sac, Fox, Ojibwa, Blackfoot and Shawnee.

3. The *Athabascans*, extending from the Arctic regions to Mexico and embracing such tribes as the Apaches, the Navajos, the Beavers, and others. The Athabascans were, for the most part, west of the Rockies.

4. The *Dakota* or *Sioux* family was found in the region west of the Great Lakes and about the headwaters of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. The Crows, Assiniboines, Omahas, Osages and Winnebagoes were well known tribes of the Sioux.

5. The *Muscogi* family occupied the southern part of the United States. The leading tribes were the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Seminoles.

6. The *Shoshoni* family embraced the Aztecs of Mexico, the Comanches, the Snakes, the Utes, and others.

Before the coming of the whites there were hardly more than five hundred thousand Indians in the whole of North America. In development these ranged from the lowest savagery to an advanced state of barbarism. On the coming of the white man, the tribes in the east were pushed farther and farther west until today only a few reservations shelter the red man, islands threatened by the onrushing wave of civilization. Susceptible as the Indian was to the influence of the whites, he could not long withstand contact with civilization. The worst side of his character soon became prone need, and he either succumbed to the white man's evils, or became a mere degenerate pensioner or ward of the government.

DISCOVERIES OF THE NORTHMEN.

Nearly five hundred years before the voyage of Columbus America is known to have been visited by the Northmen. These hardy Norse sailors made settlements in Iceland in the ninth century and a little later Eric the Red planted a colony in Greenland. About the year 1000 A. D., Lief Eriesson, his son, known as "Lief the Lucky," made a temporary settlement on the coast of North America, which he called Vinland. According to the old Norse sagas, several voyages were made to the new lands, but the settlement was evidently abandoned after a time and knowledge of the existence of America was again lost to the world. Since Europe, at the time of Columbus, appears to have had no knowledge of the explorations of the Northmen, and since these discoveries added nothing to geographical knowledge and left no permanent effect on the world, it is fitting that Columbus be given the credit for the discovery of the New World.

THE VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

In 1453 the Mohammedans captured Constantinople and henceforth this great gateway to the riches of the East was barred to the Christian nations of Europe. A new route to the Indies must be found or Europe would lose a highly profitable trade with the Orient. The Italian Renaissance brought with it to the people of Europe a thirst for geographical knowledge and commercial enterprise. The Portuguese sent their daring navigators to search for a water route to India. These ultimately rounded the southern extremity of Africa and found a route to India by way of the Indian Ocean. In 1492 the fall of Granada freed western Europe from the danger of Moorish domination, and Spain, alarmed at the growing importance of Portugal, was ready for new enterprise. Thus the time was ripe for the work of Columbus.

Christopher Columbus was born in Genoa, Italy. Most of his early life was spent on the sea and he soon became deeply interested in nautical science. For some years he resided at Lisbon, making voyages from time to time and spending the intervals in map drawing and study. Like most educated men of his time, Columbus believed the earth to be round. He appears to have been one of the first, however, to conceive the idea of reaching the Indies by sailing westward. Soon this idea became the dominant force in his career. Not having the means to carry out his great project, he sought aid from the various sovereigns of Europe. Rebuffed at the courts of Portugal, Italy and England, he was about to apply to France, when the Spanish sover-

eigns showed a tendency to consider his project. After months of discouragement, Columbus received through Queen Isabella of Spain the means for carrying out his great plan.

The most famous of all sea voyages began on the morning of August 3, 1492. Columbus, commanding a little squadron consisting of the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta* and the *Nina*, set sail from Palos, Spain, for the Canary Islands on the first leg of his great voyage. After a short stay at the Canaries, he launched boldly westward and for weeks held his course. Day after day the little squadron was swept onward in the path of the northeast trades. Despite superstition and treachery in his crew, alarming variations of the compass, and the imminence of mutiny, Columbus remained calm in the faith of his great purpose. After a month of this progress signs of nearness to land became apparent, and each day became more numerous. On October 12, land was actually reached and the fears of the crew were forgotten. The first land reached seems to have been the island of San Salvador, or Watling, in the Bahama group of the West Indies. Several days later Columbus reached the coast of Cuba and soon after, the coast of Hayti. Firm in his belief that he had reached the coveted shores of India, he left a garrison of 40 men on one of the islands and with his two remaining ships hurried back to Spain.

In 1493 Columbus, with a fleet of seventeen ships, returned to America, only to find that his colonists had perished to the last man. A colony was made in San Domingo and three years were spent in exploring the region.

In 1498 Columbus again returned to the New World, this time discovering Trinidad and the mainland of South America, near the mouth of the Orinoco River.

In 1502, on his fourth and last voyage, the Great Admiral discovered the coast of Central America and the Isthmus of Darien (Panama). Broken in health and disappointed in his quest of the wealth of the Indies, forsaken by his friends and discredited at home, Columbus made his last voyage into the Great Unknown. He died thinking he had failed, but Spain had gained a foothold in the New World.

LATER SPANISH EXPLORERS.

In less than a decade after the discoveries and explorations of Columbus Spain had established permanent colonies in the West Indies. She now took the lead in explorations of the nearby regions. Her explorers penetrated farther and farther into the interior of the new continents until by the middle of the sixteenth century they had

overrun an expanse of territory greater than the whole of Europe. Gold, silver, precious stones, in amounts exceeding the fondest dreams of Columbus, flowed copiously back to the mother country, replenishing the depleted coffers of Spain, and making her the richest nation of Europe. Yet all the while Spain was steadily losing one of her chief elements of greatness for the best blood of the nation was being drained from the barren mother country and infused into the colonies in the New World. The best of her people, the reliant, progressive, adventurous young manhood, had caught the lure of the new lands. A century or two later, chafing under the burdensome yoke of the Spanish government, this virile element of her own people contributed to the decline of Spain to a position of world obscurity.

There follows a brief outline of the work of the most noted of the Spanish explorers and colonizers, arranged in chronological order as nearly as possible.

Americus Vespucius.—An Italian in the employ of Spain, Vespucius in 1499 coasted along the continent of America for hundreds of miles. A few years later, while sailing for Portugal, he explored South America, touching the coast of Brazil. His published account of these explorations attracted much attention in Europe and resulted in the name America being applied to Brazil and finally extended to both continents.

Ponce de Leon.—One of the earliest of the Spanish explorers in America, having accompanied Columbus on his second expedition. By the conquest of Porto Rico he amassed great wealth. Having heard of a country to the north in which there was a fountain of perpetual youth, he determined to visit it. In 1513 he landed on the shore of Florida, and at once penetrated into the interior. For months the little band of Spaniards wandered through the wilderness, enduring all manner of hardships and continually beset by hostile natives. An attempt to colonize proved unsuccessful and at length Ponce de Leon fell mortally wounded in one of his battles with the Indians. This was the first of several equally unsuccessful ventures at conquest or colonization.

Balboa.—A Spanish adventurer and outlaw, who, early in the sixteenth century, established himself on the isthmus of Darien. In 1513, having heard from the Indians of a great expanse of water to the west, he made his way with a few followers to the crest of the isthmus and for the first time saw the Pacific, or South Sea, as he called it. Returning to the Spanish settlements on the east coast, he found himself temporarily in favor. Shortly after this, however, Balboa was beheaded on a charge of treason.

Hernando Cortez.—Sailing from Santiago de Cuba with eleven vessels and 700 men, Cortez landed in 1519 on the coast of Mexico. He burned his ships in order that his soldiers might have no alternative to the conquest of the Aztecs. After meeting stubborn resistance, he at length made his way to the Aztec capital, where the Montezuma met him in a friendly spirit. News of a conspiracy against him led him to secure Montezuma as a hostage. The Aztec king died and the Spaniards were driven from the city with great loss. It was not until 1521 that Cortez was again able to re-enter the city. A few years later the country had fallen completely under the dominion of Spain. The conquest of Mexico furnished enormous riches to the Spanish government.

Ferdinand Magellan.—A Portuguese navigator, who, while in the service of Spain, conducted the first expedition to circumnavigate the globe. In 1520 Magellan sailed westward from Spain in command of five small vessels. Reaching the coast of South America, he at length passed through the strait that bears his name and turned north into the Pacific. Despite loss of part of his fleet, disease and hardship among his crew, in constant peril of death by thirst or starvation, he continued boldly westward and at length reached a group of islands which he called the Ladrões. A few weeks later he discovered the Philippine Islands, where a combat with the hostile natives cost him his life. His surviving followers made their way to the Spice Islands and thence, following the Portuguese trade routes via of the Indian Ocean and the Cape of Good Hope, continued homeward. Three years after the start of the expedition fifteen members of the crew, with one ship, reached Spain safely. As a result of Magellan's remarkable enterprise Spain laid claim, by right of discovery and exploration, to vast territory about the Pacific.

Gordillo.—Explored the southeastern coast of North America in 1520.

De Ayllon.—A Spaniard, who, with five hundred men, sailed northward along the Atlantic coast in 1526 and made an unsuccessful attempt to found a colony in what is now Virginia, on Chesapeake Bay.

De Narvaez.—Explored the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico in 1528, with several hundred men and four ships. When off the mouth of the Mississippi DeNarvaez's expedition was overtaken by a violent storm in which nearly all perished. Cabeza de Vaca, one of the few survivors, with three companions fell into the hands of the Indians. For nearly eight years these wandered from tribe to tribe, and at length reached the Spanish settlements in Mexico.

Coronado.—Led by tales of great riches to be found to the northward, Coronado, governor of a province in Mexico, about 1540 set out in search of the fabled cities of Cibola. His expedition discovered many Pueblos of the Southwest, the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, and even penetrated as far north as the state of Kansas. His explorations laid the basis for the Spanish colonization of what is now southwestern United States.

DeSoto.—In 1539 DeSoto, one of the most picturesque and daring of the Spanish explorers, set out with a well equipped expedition to conquer Florida, confident that he would succeed where others had failed. From the very first, however, his progress was hindered by the bitter hostility of the natives with whom his expedition came in contact. DeSoto penetrated the interior as far north as the Carolinas. His line of march, turning southwestward, at length brought him to the banks of the Mississippi, near the present site of Memphis. He is thus credited with the discovery of this mighty stream, the Father of Waters (1541). His little band, weakened through privations and losses in battle, wandered for months in the region west of the river, and after a time again reached its banks near the present city of New Orleans. Here DeSoto died and here he was buried secretly in the stream by his discouraged followers. Hurriedly building rough boats, the survivors of the ill-fated expedition floated down the river to its mouth and finally made their way to the settlements on the east coast of Mexico.

Menéndez.—In 1565 Menéndez founded St. Augustine in Florida, the oldest city in the present bounds of the United States.

FRENCH DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION.

In 1493, by Papal edict, a "Line of Demarcation" had been fixed to coincide with the meridian 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. All heathen lands west of this line were to be the property of Spain, all heathen territory east of the line was reserved to Portugal. The English and French, however, soon ignored the Line of Demarcation, and during the sixteenth century sent out numerous expeditions to explore and colonize the New World. For more than a century none of these attempts menaced greatly Spain's position in America, since they were for the most part merely preliminary to more energetic efforts in the seventeenth century. Soon after the year 1600 France gained a permanent foothold in northeastern North America, while England at the same time established important colonies in Virginia and New England. While Spain was declining through her own inherent weakness, France and England were rapidly rising to a

foremost place among the nations. Spain having by this time confined her activities to South America, the West Indies and extreme southern North America, a contest between England and France for supremacy in eastern North America was inevitable.

There follows a brief outline of the work of the most important of the French explorers and colonizers.

Verrazano.—A Florentine navigator in the service of Francis I of France. Verrazano states that in 1624 he landed in the vicinity of Cape Fear, N. C.; sailed southward along the coast for some distance, and then, turning north, cruised along the coast as far as New England. He is believed to have entered Chesapeake Bay, New York Bay, and other important indentations along the coast.

Cartier.—Ten years after the voyage of Verrazano (1534) Jacques Cartier, another French explorer, made a voyage to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, exploring the neighboring region. The next year, on a second voyage, Cartier ascended the St. Lawrence in search of a passage to India. He found his way barred at the present site of Montreal by rapids which he called Lachine, or "Chinese." Here he conducted a profitable trade with the Indians, establishing a small trading post.

Jean Ribaut.—Sent out by the great French Huguenot, Admiral Coligny, Ribaut, assisted by Landonniere, made a settlement in 1562 at Port Royal, South Carolina. A little later he placed a colony on the St. John's River in Florida. These settlements, however, were soon destroyed and the colonists massacred by Spaniards under the cruel Menendez, who about this time established St. Augustine. This ended French attempts to colonize in the southeast.

Gourges.—A Frenchman who made fearful retaliation for the massacre of Ribaut and his colonists by destroying a Spanish colony in Florida.

De Monts.—Having received from the French government an extensive grant of territory in America, De Monts and a number of colonists came out in 1604 and established an agricultural settlement at Port Royal, Acadia, near the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

Champlain.—One of the most important of French explorers, sometimes called the "Father of New France," Champlain explored carefully the region about the St. Lawrence, penetrating into what is now northern New York and discovering the lake that bears his name. In 1608 he founded Quebec and two years later Montreal. Champlain allied himself with the Algonquin Indians of Canada by participating in several raids against the Iroquois. This may have furnished the basis for the bitter hostility shown the French by the New York

State Indians for more than a century afterwards. In 1629 Champlain was appointed governor of Canada. During the following years he conducted affairs with ability, doing much to extend French influence and civilization in America.

Jean Nicolet.—In 1634 Nicolet, sent out by Champlain, discovered Lake Michigan and explored the adjacent waterways.

Father Allouez.—A Jesuit missionary, who in 1666 discovered Lake Superior and penetrated far into the regions south and west of it. He is also credited with having found a canoe route to the Hudson Bay country.

Marquette and Joliet.—Accounts by Father Allouez and others led two Jesuit priests, Marquette and Joliet, to explore the western wilderness. Ascending the Fox river, they portaged to the Wisconsin and then floated down this stream to the Mississippi. For hundreds of miles these daring Frenchmen followed the great river until at last they reached the mouth of the Arkansas. Here they stopped and retraced their route for fear of falling into the hands of the Spaniards. This time the party ascended the Illinois river, making their way, by way of Lake Michigan, back to the settlements on the St. Lawrence. Joliet and Marquette were the first white men to traverse the region of the middle Mississippi.

LaSalle.—Having received permission from Louis IV to occupy and explore the valley of the Mississippi, LaSalle, in the spring of 1682, began his famous trip down that river. Weeks later he reached the Gulf of Mexico and took possession of the entire river basin in the name of France, calling the country Louisiana. LaSalle seems to have been the first Frenchman to conceive the plan of holding the whole Mississippi valley and the Lake regions by means of military posts. Having completed the long wearisome journey back to Quebec, he set sail for France, where he hoped to obtain aid in planting a colony in the Mississippi delta region. With a fleet of four ships La Salle a short time later arrived in the Gulf of Mexico, but failing to find the mouth of the Mississippi, landed on the coast of Texas and there built a small fort. Contentions arose among the men and finally LaSalle was murdered by two of his own countrymen.

Iberville.—A French naval officer who was sent to carry out the great work begun by the ambitious LaSalle. Safely reaching the mouth of the Mississippi, he ascended the stream for some distance but found no suitable place for a colony. He then built a settlement at Biloxi on the Gulf about 1700. A few years later a colony was planted at Mobile. Bienville in 1718 founded New Orleans.

ENGLISH EXPLORATION.

Although England had sent out the Cabots to explore the New World even before the last of the voyages of Columbus, yet for almost a century little effort was made by the British to dispute Spain's supremacy in America. The reign of Elizabeth, marking as it did the completion of the Reformation in England, brought with it not only internal peace, a great revival of industry at home and activity on the sea, but also a desire for expansion, which was soon to result in an era of colonization in the New World. The destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588 freed England from a menace of long standing and was the beginning of the end of Spanish dominion on the sea. From that day North America was open to colonization with little danger of hindrance from the Spanish.

Below is presented a brief outline of the work of the more important of the English explorers and sea rovers.

The Cabots.—In 1497, Henry VII of England, disregarding the "Line of Demareation," sent John and Sebastian Cabot, two Italian navigators, to explore what was then believed to be a part of Asia. The Cabots landed in southeastern Canada and later explored the coast as far south as Hatteras. The Cabots are credited with having been the first to reach the mainland of North America, and on their voyages England, years later, based her claim to North America.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert.—An English navigator and explorer. He became interested in the search for a route to India and in 1578 received a commission from Queen Elizabeth to conduct an expedition. On his first expedition he coasted along eastern North America. His second voyage was marked by an unsuccessful attempt to plant a colony in Newfoundland. On his way back to England Gilbert perished in a violent storm at sea.

Sir Francis Drake.—A famous English navigator, known to the Spaniards as the "Dragon." He made a number of expeditions to America, particularly in the region of the "Spanish Main," where he intercepted and captured many homeward bound Spanish treasure ships. On the most famous of his voyages Drake passed the Straits of Magellan, plundered the coasts of Chile and Peru, captured a Spanish galleon laden with gold, silver and jewels to the value of a million dollars, and then, failing to find a northern passage to the Atlantic, sailed west across the Pacific and the Indian Oceans, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and at length arrived in England. To him belongs the honor of being the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe (1580). Drake later played a prominent part in the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

Sir Walter Raleigh.—A famous Englishman of the Elizabethan Period, a half brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Raleigh became deeply interested in the idea of colonization in America. In 1585 he sent out his first colony under Ralph Lane. A preliminary expedition sent out under Amadas and Barlowe had chosen Roanoke Island on the coast of Virginia as a suitable site for the colony. Lane's colony failed to prosper and the homesick settlers were soon carried back to England by Drake. These introduced into Europe tobacco and the potato.

In 1587 Raleigh sent out to Roanoke Island a larger colony under Governor White. White found it necessary to return to England and, due to the attack of the Spanish Armada, three years elapsed before he could return to Virginia with a relief expedition. When at last help arrived the colony had utterly disappeared, and its fate is even to this day a matter of mere conjecture. Raleigh was now forced to abandon his scheme of colonization. A few years later he fell into disfavor with the English government and finally was beheaded for alleged treason.

Although this first important attempt at English colonization in America failed, nevertheless, it paved the way for further attempts, and at last made possible the gaining of a firm foothold on the Atlantic seaboard.

Martin Frobisher.—One of the greatest of Elizabethan navigators. He made three expeditions to the Arctic regions in the latter half of the sixteenth century, for the purpose of discovering a northwest passage to India. He also made an unsuccessful attempt to found a settlement north of Hudson Bay.

Bartholemew Gosnold.—In 1602, with an expedition probably equipped by Raleigh, Gosnold explored the New England coast from Maine to Buzzards Bay, and returned home with a valuable cargo of furs and woods. This expedition led directly to the organization of the London Company that later colonized Virginia. Gosnold accompanied the expedition to Jamestown in 1607, but died soon after reaching America.

Martin Pring.—In 1603 Pring made a voyage to New England. This venture did much to awaken the English to vast possibilities in the development of this region.

George Weymouth.—In 1605 Weymouth explored New England, particularly in the region of the Kennebec river, Maine, where he made a temporary settlement. He took with him on his return to England several Indians.

Henry Hudson.—Discovered Hudson Bay in 1610 while in the service of the English. Sailing for the Dutch in 1609 he explored the Hudson river, in an effort to find a way through to India.

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES.

VIRGINIA.

In 1606 two companies were formed in England, the London Company and the Plymouth Company, for commercial enterprise in America. They obtained royal charters enabling each to found a colony, granting the right to coin money, raise revenue, and to make laws, but reserving much power to the king. The London Company had permission to plant a colony anywhere on the Atlantic seaboard between the thirty-fourth and forty-first parallels of north latitude. The Plymouth Company could settle anywhere between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude. The settlements of the two companies were to be at least a hundred miles apart.

In December, 1606, the London Company sent out three small ships, commanded by Capt. Newport. After a long, stormy voyage the expedition reached Virginia and entered Chesapeake Bay. About thirty miles up the James river a settlement site was chosen and here in 1607 was built Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement in America. Wingfield was the first president of the governing council of the colony.

Most of the colonists at Jamestown were gentlemen adventurers, ill-fitted to engage in an enterprise in which years of labor were essential to success. In a few months the colony was in a deplorable condition, due to homesickness, short rations, malarial fever and continual fear of Indian attack. More than half of the settlers died before the beginning of another year. Fortunately, among the colonists was one John Smith, a man of remarkable energy, courage and resourcefulness. He soon assumed control of the colony, saved the little band from starvation by obtaining food from the Indians, and, by keeping the men at work, laid the foundation for future prosperity. After 1608 new colonists arrived from time to time and Jamestown began to take on an air of permanence.

In 1609 a new charter was granted Virginia, by which the local council was abolished, being superseded by a governor, and by which the bounds of the colony were enlarged. Before the new Governor, Lord Delaware, could reach the colony, the settlers were again in straits for food. This is known as the "Starving Time" (1610).

Only the opportune arrival of Delaware with a large company and an abundance of supplies prevented the abandoning of the whole enterprise. Lord Delaware soon returned to England, sending out Sir Thomas Dale as his deputy. Dale, though harsh and tyrannical, was a man of great ability and strength of character. Under his masterful guidance the colony made rapid progress. He introduced a number of radical reforms, among which was the partial abolishing of the communal system of living, which had for its effect the stimulation of industry.

A third charter was granted Virginia in 1612. This charter added to the colony the Bermudas, gave the company more liberal powers of governing, in fact, made it practically self-governing. The company did not immediately extend this right to its colonists, however. Under the unscrupulous Governor Argall, successor to Dale, the colony received a serious set back. In 1619 the company sent out Sir George Yeardley, with powers to call an assembly of settlers. Thus in 1619 there came into existence the Virginia House of Burgesses, the first representative assembly in America. In this same year occurred two other highly important events—the introduction of negro slavery, and the coming of ninety young women to be wives of the colonists.

Virginia's most destructive Indian war occurred in 1623. Led by a son of the famous Powhatan, the Indians massacred nearly four hundred of the whites and carried the war to the very gates of Jamestown. In 1644 a second uprising resulted in the complete overthrow of Indian power in the region.

In 1624 Virginia lost its charter and became a royal province. In reality very little change was made in the government of the colony, since the people retained their assembly and the governors were merely made answerable to the king instead of to the company. With the rise of Puritan control in England Virginia remained steadfastly loyal to the Royalist Party. The triumph of Cromwell caused an exodus of Cavaliers from England to the colony. These new settlers were of far better class than the original colonists.

Sir William Berkely, the most noted of all the colonial governors of Virginia, held office from 1642 to 1677, with the exception of a few years under the Commonwealth. Berkely served his royal masters well but had little real sympathy with the colonists, and recklessly sacrificed their interests. Popular government in Virginia now suffered a long eclipse, and the latter half of Berkeley's term of office is marked by a succession of extortions, conspiracies, unjust laws, and all the kinds of political and economic tyranny that are attendant on mal-administration.

At last, in what is known as Bacon's Rebellion (1676), the people rose in open revolt, due to the failure of Berkeley to protect the colony from Indian massacre. Led by a young planter named Bacon, several hundred enraged colonists marched on Jamestown. The governor fled before the armed band and took refuge on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, leaving Jamestown to be burned by Bacon and his followers. The sudden death of Bacon threw his followers into a panic and they dispersed, whereupon Berkeley returned to the site of Jamestown and wreaked terrible vengeance on the friends of Bacon. At last Charles II, tiring of Berkeley's despotic rule in America, recalled him, to the lasting benefit of Virginia.

Since tobacco culture and commerce were the basis of prosperity in Virginia, the Navigation Laws, which were first enforced about 1660, were particularly irksome. Yet, despite this the colony flourished, and built up an extensive trade. Interest in education was greatly stimulated by the establishing, in 1693, of William and Mary College, the second institution of higher learning founded in America. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, the colonial history of Virginia differs little from that of the thirteen colonies as a whole, and may be studied as such.

MASSACHUSETTS.

The Plymouth Company, chartered in England in 1606, for the purpose of colonizing northern Virginia, followed the example of the London Company and as early as 1607 sent out a colony under Popham, which settled on the Kennebec in Maine. One severe winter, however, broke up the colony and the company never sent another.

In 1620 the Plymouth Company was reorganized under the name of the Council for New England, and a few years later it granted a land patent to a number of prominent Puritans, who settled Massachusetts Bay Colony.

In the meantime, however, a religious sect, known as Separatists, became interested in establishing a colony in America. A band of Separatists calling themselves Pilgrims had taken refuge in Holland, where they were free from religious persecution. Not finding Holland to their liking, some of the bolder of these determined to seek religious freedom in America. They secured from the London Company a patent to lands located somewhere within the bounds of the second charter of that company. Having borrowed £5,000, the Pilgrims fitted out a small expedition and, in 1620, set sail for the Hudson river country. After a stormy three months' voyage in the *Mayflower*, they reached Cape Cod, hundreds of miles from their desired

harbor. It was late in the fall and a New England winter was just setting in, so it was determined that the settlement be made nearby.

Since they had received no authority to settle in that region, the Pilgrims were under no fixed government; therefore they drew up a brief set of laws, or constitution, for the governing of the colony, known as the "Mayflower Compact." John Carver was chosen the first governor. Choosing a place called Plymouth, which had been named by John Smith years before while exploring and mapping the coast of New England, the Pilgrims landed and set about building huts for the winter. Great numbers of the colonists died during this first winter, among whom was the governor, but their lofty purpose and indomitable courage remained unshaken. The few Indians in the neighborhood proved friendly and there was little work for Miles Standish, the colony's military leader. After the death of Carver, William Bradford was elected governor and administered affairs ably for thirty years. Plymouth as a distinct colony came to an end in 1691 when it was combined with the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which had become the dominant colony in Massachusetts. During its entire existence Plymouth never had a charter or a royal governor. The Pilgrims, unlike the early Virginians, were admirably fitted to meet the hardships of life in the wilderness and to establish in the New World the great principle of a church free from governmental influence.

In 1628 the first Puritan colony in New England was established at Salem under John Endicott. The Puritans in many ways were less radical non-conformists than were the Separatists. For the most part, the members were of a more prosperous class of English society and included many wealthy and influential Englishmen. Having received a royal charter in 1629, the main body of Puritans, numbering over a thousand, came out to New England in 1630 and established Massachusetts Bay Colony, settling at Boston and in the adjacent region. John Winthrop was chosen governor. The Puritan towns already in existence in this region were soon absorbed in the rapidly growing colony. It had been intended by the British government that the seat of government of the Massachusetts Bay Colony remain in England, but the stockholders of the company had immigrated to America and had very shrewdly brought their charter with them. This practically made Massachusetts self-governing.

Supplemented by a code of laws called the "Body of Liberties," the charter formed the foundation for popular government. The office of governor was made elective and laws were for the most part enacted by legislative assemblies whose members were chosen by the democratic system of town meetings. Government and religion were

closely united and radical departures were made from the Anglican form of worship. Ministers were supported by public taxation and had remarkable influence in all public affairs.

Although the Puritans had come to America for religious liberty, they soon interpreted it to mean religious freedom for their own sect only. People who differed from the established religion or criticized the clergy were strongly repressed. Quakers particularly were subject to bitter persecution. The uncompromising sternness of Puritan character and mode of living led many to set up settlements outside of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

Since the New England colonists were found to a great extent in towns and villages, it was possible for a system of education to develop under favorable circumstances. Harvard College, the oldest institution for higher learning in the United States, was established as early as 1636.

In 1643 a league, known as the New England Confederacy, was formed, embracing colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, and organized for the three-fold purpose of protecting the colonists from the Dutch, the Indians and the French. This confederacy was of the utmost importance to New England when years later, 1675, the long dreaded King Philip's Indian war broke out. The whites could hardly have weathered this long and destructive conflict had it not been for the hearty cooperation of the various New England towns. As it was, nearly a thousand whites lost their lives and at least twenty towns were destroyed.

Massachusetts, having made in various ways too great a show of independence, lost her charter in 1684. When the Duke of York became James II, he made Edmund Andros governor over all of New England, although his control was mere nominal than real. When William and Mary ascended the English throne, Andros was thrown into prison and for a time Massachusetts was governed under the old charter of 1629. Royal governors soon regained control, however, and Massachusetts remained a kind of modified royal province until the Revolution. The famous witchcraft cases, a product of Puritan narrow-mindedness and superstition, created a considerable sensation in the colony about 1692.

During the eighteenth century the colonial history of Massachusetts merges to a great extent with that of the New England colonies as a whole and will be dealt with as such.

CONNECTICUT.

As early as 1623 the Dutch built a fort near the mouth of the Connecticut, and laid claim to the fertile valley of that river. For

thirty years thereafter they disputed with the English their rights to the region.

The first English settlement was established at Windsor in 1633 by colonists from Plymouth colony in Massachusetts. Two years later a settlement was started at Saybrook by Lord Say and Seal. The principal settlements, however, were made by men from Massachusetts led by Rev. Thomas Hooker and a son of Governor Winthrop. Hooker and his flock built towns at Hartford, Wethersfield, and other points. Rev. John Davenport was instrumental in founding New Haven, Milford, Stamford, and other settlements on the northern shores of Long Island Sound.

While the early settlers in the valley of Connecticut were endangered somewhat due to proximity to the Dutch, the greatest menace to their safety was the hostility of the Indians. The Pequot tribe had long been trying to form an alliance of the nearby tribes, but Roger Williams of Rhode Island was successful in inducing the powerful Narragansett tribe not to join. Consequently, in the Pequot Indian War of 1637, the Pequots were practically exterminated. For a time the menace of a general Indian war in New England was averted.

In 1662 the younger Winthrop secured a royal charter for Connecticut from Charles II, the most liberal that had yet been given. The charter included the New Haven colony, which for a time strongly resisted the effort to make it a part of the rest of Connecticut.

Scarcely had New England begun to recover from the terrible effects of King Philip's War before the liberties of the colonies were menaced from another direction. Under James II the British government revoked the charters and made Andros governor of all of New England. Andros met difficulty in discharging his new duties, particularly in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Tradition has it that the people of Connecticut secreted their charter in a hollow oak, where it remained for several years. With the overthrow of Andros, the colony of Connecticut again became self-governing and practically remained so until the Revolution.

RHODE ISLAND.

Rhode Island was settled in 1636 by Roger Williams, a fugitive from Massachusetts. Williams had incurred the displeasure of the Massachusetts officials because of insistence in the matter of religious toleration and because of his outspoken criticism of king and clergy. The region around Narragansett Bay was purchased from the Indians and Providence was founded. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, another exile, soon came to the colony. The settlements of Portsmouth, Warwick and

Newport were founded, and Rhode Island grew rapidly. In 1644 Williams secured a charter for the colony. Another and more liberal one was obtained in 1663, which embodied the principles of religious freedom.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

New Hampshire was included in a grant of land made in 1622 by the Council for New England to Gorges and Mason. A settlement called Little Harbor was made in 1623 near the mouth of the Piscataqua. A little later Dover was founded, and in 1638 Exeter. The people of New Hampshire soon accepted the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and remained under that government until about 1690. New Hampshire then became a royal province, the governor and council being appointed by the crown and the assembly elected by the people. Due to the fact that the Mason heirs claimed the rights to the land, thus causing disputes and litigation with the settlers, prospective colonists were repelled and New Hampshire grew very slowly.

The heirs of Gorges, whose grant embraced Maine, finally ceded their claims to Massachusetts and Maine remained a part of that colony until after the Revolution. Vermont was claimed by both New Hampshire and New York. There was much dispute over what were known as the "New Hampshire Grants," and the determination of the people in the region to conduct their affairs for themselves at length prevailed. Vermont was the first state to be added to the original thirteen after the Revolution.

NEW YORK.

For the first forty years of its existence, the history of the colony that later became New York is practically a record of the Dutch in America. Henry Hudson, an English navigator in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, was sent to seek a northwest passage to the China seas. Hudson sailed down the New England coast and in 1609 entered the beautiful river soon to be called the Hudson. A careful exploration of the river as far north as Albany failed to reveal the long sought passage, so Hudson returned to Holland with his report on the region.

As early as 1614 a trading post was established on Manhattan Island and a year or two later another was built in New Jersey. In 1623 the newly organized Dutch West India Company sent out colonists, some of whom settled on Manhattan, while the others established Fort Orange, now Albany. The Dutch now laid claim to the region from Chesapeake Bay to Cape Cod. Peter Minnit, the first

Dutch colonial governor, arrived in New Netherlands in 1626 and immediately purchased Manhattan Island of the Indians. Thus began New Amsterdam, later to be called New York City. The government of New Netherlands was very similar to the government of Virginia before the House of Burgesses. To encourage colonization great grants of land along the Hudson were made to wealthy Hollanders under what was called the "Patroon System."

With the recall of Minuit, comes a long period of misrule in New Netherlands under such governors as Van Twiller, Kieft and Peter Stuyvesant. Stuyvesant was the last and most famous of the Dutch governors. A self-willed, obstinate old man of choleric temper, he had little sympathy with democracy and no power to gauge public opinion. Both banks of the Delaware were claimed by the Dutch, so in 1655 Stuyvesant drove out the Swedes and exercised control over the region.

The English claimed New Netherlands on the ground of the Cabot discoveries. Charles II now gave the entire country from Connecticut to Delaware to his brother, the Duke of York, ignoring the claims of the Dutch colony. Captain Nicolls was sent out with a small fleet and several hundred British soldiers to take possession of New Netherlands. Appearing before New Amsterdam in 1664, Nicolls demanded the surrender of the city. In vain Stuyvesant urged his stolid countrymen to rise in its defense, but his colonists weary of tyrannical government and favoritism, were ready for a change. Nicolls' demand was at length complied with and New Netherlands was surrendered without bloodshed. Thus by 1664 England had made good her claims to the Atlantic seaboard, and from Maine to the Carolinas extended unbroken a line of English colonies.

The transition from Dutch to English rule in New Netherlands was gradual. A code of laws, known as the "Duke's Code," was framed, modeled largely after government in New England. This plan did not prove permanent, however, as it provided too sparingly for popular government. Under Governor Dongan the duke granted the people an assembly. This representative assembly adopted a declaration of rights known as the "Charter of Liberties." The Duke of York became James II of England about this time, and the new king refused to sign the "Charter of Liberties." New York was now made a royal province, and Andros was sent to govern the colony as consolidated with New England and New Jersey.

The fall of James II, by the Revolution of 1688, occasioned the fall of Andros in New York. The colony was for two years governed by Jacob Leisler. At length Sloughter, the new governor arrived and

Leisler was thrown into prison charged with being an usurper. Sloughter was a weak and vacillating man and at length was induced to sanction the execution of Leisler, which was little else than political murder.

Despite frequent internal disturbances, the province of New York grew steadily until the Revolution, due to its wonderful natural advantages.

NEW JERSEY.

The first settlements in New Jersey were made by the Dutch coincident with the founding of New Netherlands, but the real history of the colony begins with the occupation of the territory by the English in 1664. The Duke of York quickly disposed of the province to two of his friends, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. Carteret made his first settlement at Elizabeth, and a large number of Puritans from New England settled at Newark and adjacent towns. A form of government known as the "Concessions" was granted, carrying with it religious liberty to Englishmen, providing for a governor, a council, and an assembly of twelve to be chosen by the people. The constant quarrels between the proprietors and their colonists led Berkeley to sell his interest to the Quakers. In 1676 New Jersey was divided into East and West Jersey. Carteret retained East Jersey and the Quakers West Jersey. Two wholly separate governments were now set up.

The first important settlement in West Jersey was made by the Quakers at Burlington. Of the two sections, the government of West Jersey was far milder than that of East Jersey where the Puritans held sway. With the accession of James II East Jersey and West Jersey were reunited to form one colony and the proprietors lost their rights. In 1702 New Jersey became a distinct royal province.

New Jersey's population was, for the most part, English; and by 1760, the inhabitants numbered about 75,000. Practically the entire colony was engaged in agricultural pursuits. Protected as it was from the perils of frontier life, it grew rapidly.

DELAWARE.

Delaware was first claimed by the Dutch by right of the discovery of Hudson, next by the Swedes, who made the first permanent settlement, and finally it came into possession of the English.

The Dutch under DeVries made an unsuccessful attempt to colonize in 1631, but on the coming of the Swedes in 1638, they found the region unoccupied. The Swedes settled on the site of Wilmington

and in the adjacent county. John Printz, one of the early governors, showed such aggressive ability that for a time it seemed as if the Scandinavians might acquire permanent holdings in America. The Swedish government, however, failed to support properly its colony in the face of the rapidly growing Dutch menace from New Amsterdam. The Swedes were soon overawed by a force under the blustering Stuyvesant and New Sweden became a part of New Netherlands. The people were permitted to retain their land and continued to prosper under the new government.

The conquest of New Amsterdam in 1664 included Delaware, which now became the property of the Duke of York. In 1682 Delaware was sold to William Penn, and in the same year was annexed to Pennsylvania and known as the "Three Lower Counties." The colony secured a separate legislature in 1702 under a charter granted by Penn. From that time until the Revolution, the history of Delaware was identified with that of Pennsylvania.

PENNSYLVANIA.

During the time of Charles II, the religious sect in England known as Quakers was bitterly persecuted. Penn and other influential leaders of the sect had not met with marked success in their attempt to colonize in New Jersey. At William Penn's request the king granted him a tract of forty thousand square miles in America west of the Delaware in payment of a debt owed to the Penns. In honor of William Penn's father, Admiral Penn, the tract was called "Pennsylvania." Pennsylvania was to be a refuge for Quakers, but there was to be real religious toleration, for other denominations were not excluded by the proprietor. The boundaries of the colony became the subject of serious dispute, due to the indefinite wording of the charter. The boundary line between Maryland and Pennsylvania was not satisfactorily fixed until 1767 when two famous English surveyors, Mason and Dixon, completed their survey. Years later the Mason and Dixon line was to have remarkable significance in American history.

Three ship loads of emigrants were sent out to Pennsylvania in 1681 and a year later Penn himself voyaged to his colony. Delaware had been purchased to give an outlet to the sea, and in that region the first colonists settled. Penn on his arrival proceeded farther up the Delaware and laid out Philadelphia for his capital city. A few months later he made his famous treaty with the Delaware Indians, and laid the basis for a lasting peace between the red men and his settlers.

Early in 1683 the legislature of the colony met in Philadelphia. The proprietor presented a new form of government, giving most of the power of lawmaking into the hands of the people, represented by a council and an assembly. Penn a few years later practically transferred all his powers to the people.

Philadelphia had phenomenal growth. In the four years following its founding it surpassed in population New York, which had been founded sixty years before. The growth of the colony as a whole was more rapid than that of any other of the thirteen colonies. Its thrifty Quaker population was augmented by the arrival, early in the eighteenth century, of German Protestants, who settled in the southern and eastern tiers of counties. The descendants of these worthy colonists have frequently been spoken of in later years as "Pennsylvania Dutch." Even greater was the influx of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of sturdy stock, who were well fitted to endure the hardships of frontier life. These for the most part settled in the central and mountainous portions of the state. Many thousands of these Scotch-Irish followed the trend of the valleys of the Blue Ridge and Alleghenies southward to become settlers in the hill regions of Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas.

MARYLAND.

With the founding of Maryland in 1634 we have the first permanent proprietary colony in America. Maryland marks one of the many attempts to transplant English monarchical institutions in America; an attempt to introduce limited feudalism on New World soil. The result in Maryland, as in every other proprietary colony, was that democracy early gained a foothold, since the free and unfettered mode of living was not conducive to a slavish adherence to established political and social customs and institutions.

The man who conceived the idea of the founding of an English colony in America as an asylum for Catholics was George Calvert, first Lord of Baltimore; the actual founder was Cecilus Calvert, his son. Charles I had granted to the elder Calvert a tract of territory bounded on the south by the Potomac and on the north by the 40th parallel of north latitude.

The first settlers reach Maryland in 1634, numbering about three hundred. Leonard Calvert a younger brother of Cecilus Calvert, led the first expedition and became the colony's first governor. On a small island near the mouth of the Potomac the first settlement was made and named St. Marys. Maryland grew rapidly although St. Marys never became an important city; Annapolis was founded a few years later and Baltimore early in the eighteenth century. Maryland,

surrounded as it was by Protestant colonies, was watched with jealous eyes. The colony early had trouble with Virginia, particularly with Clayborne, a Virginia trader who occupied, at the time of the coming of the Catholics, Kent Island in the Chesapeake within the bounds of Maryland. Calvert asserted his rights to the region and Clayborne was driven out. A much later source of irritation was the constant dispute with the Pennsylvanians with respect to the northern boundary of the colony.

Maryland is particularly noted for having been the first colony in which religious toleration was officially provided for. The Calverts had not found it advisable to exclude Protestants from the colony and within a decade these became more numerous than the Catholics. Clayborne, returning from Virginia about 1645, seriously disturbed the peace of Maryland by what is known as the Clayborne-Ingle Rebellion, during which the authority of the Baltimores was temporarily overthrown. Cecilus Calvert regained control, however, and in 1649 himself drew up the famous Religious Toleration Act, presumably in an effort to affect a compromise between the Catholic and the Protestant elements in the colony.

During the rule of Cromwell the Calverts for a time lost the proprietorship, regaining it after the Restoration. Maryland was a royal province from 1691 to 1715, although the proprietors were still permitted to receive revenues from the colony. The fourth Lord Baltimore, having turned Protestant, had Maryland restored to him, and it remained in control of his heirs until the Revolution.

THE CAROLINAS.

The colonial histories of North Carolina and South Carolina can readily be studied together, since both the Carolinas were included in the charter of 1663, both were intended to be governed by the "Grand Model," since they were not separated politically until the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and since their histories run parallel for years.

The first settlements in North Carolina were made by Virginians on the Chowan and Roanoke rivers in the Albermarle district. A few years later a settlement was founded by New Englanders on the Cape Fear river. In the meantime, 1663, Charles II granted to eight noblemen the territory south of Virginia as far as the 29th parallel of north latitude. A plan of government was provided, known as the "Grand Model," drawn up by the famous English philosopher, John Locke. It provided for a system of feudal government under which the peo-

ple would be hardly more than serfs or retainers to the earls and barons who were to own the land. Most of the settlers of the Carolinas had found even the other colonial governments too oppressive and had migrated to the region south of Virginia with a view to gaining a greater amount of freedom. It was inevitable that such a form of government would not meet with their approval or support; so after twenty years of futile attempts to enforce the "Grand Model," the whole plan was abandoned. The colony did not then prosper, however, due to thieving and incompetent governors, many settlers of a lawless or worthless class, and the fact that the Navigation Laws greatly interfered with a lucrative trade with New England. In 1693 the population was but half what it had been fifteen years before. A settlement had been made on the Ashley river in what is now South Carolina. All colonies in the Carolinas were now combined and conditions slowly improved. In 1729, all proprietors having sold their interests to the crown, North and South Carolina were separated, and each was henceforth a royal colony. The people of South Carolina from the very first had had a greater share in government than had their northern neighbors. Charleston soon became the greatest port in the South because of having the best harbor in the region. Like North Carolina, South Carolina was ravaged from time to time by destructive Indian wars, particularly with the Tuscaroras. The Spaniards in Florida, too, were constantly menacing the safety and the commerce of the South Carolinians. French Huguenots and German Protestants, who had settled in great numbers in the Carolinas, proved valuable additions to the population of the colonies.

GEORGIA.

The colony of Georgia, founded in 1732, was the last of the original thirteen colonies to be established. The leader of the enterprise was James Oglethorpe, a noted English soldier and statesman, and a man of high philanthropic spirit. A charter was granted for a period of years to a board of trustees for the lands between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers. The colony was founded with a four-fold objective:

(1.) To provide for members of the unfortunate debtor class in England an opportunity to begin life anew; (2) to provide a refuge for persecuted Protestants of Europe; (3) to provide a sort of buffer state to be a military barrier between the Carolinas and Spanish Florida; and (4) to establish a colony for commercial and agricultural enterprise. The government of the colony was marked by three funda-

mental principles; there was to be no slavery, rum was to be excluded, and there was to be complete religious toleration.

The first settlement was made at Savannah in 1733. Besides colonists from England, Austrian Protestants, German Moravians, Scotch Highlanders, and French Huguenots soon built up towns nearby. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism came out as a missionary.

The Spanish in Florida having become troublesome, Oglethorpe led an unsuccessful expedition against St. Augustine. A few months later a Spanish force made an attack on Georgia, but Oglethorpe by skilful strategy, caused it to fail in its purpose to capture Savannah.

Despite its apparently favorable beginning Georgia did not at first prosper. The colonists failed in their attempt at silk-worm culture because of the unfavorable climatic conditions. The exclusion of negro slavery prevented successful competition with the Carolinas, where slavery was an established institution. The prohibition put on alcoholic liquors handicapped the Georgians in their trade with the West Indies, where rum was a staple medium of exchange. In Georgia, as in the rest of the southern colonies, the lack of educational facilities was deplorable.

At length, the proprietors, discouraged and disappointed in both moral and pecuniary returns for their investment, turned over the colony to the British Crown. Georgia now became a royal province and remained as such until the Revolution. With the removal of restrictions such as had been placed by the proprietors, the colony grew rapidly and by 1775 had a population of over fifty thousand.

THE INTERCOLONIAL WARS.

With the accession of William and Mary to the English throne, there began in America a series of intercolonial wars that lasted, with intervals of peace, for the next three-quarters of a century. These wars were between the French and English colonists and were destined to end with the English supreme in America. The first three of the wars did not originate in the New World; they were but reflections of far greater conflicts raging at the time in Europe between the mother countries. The last of the intercolonial wars, the French and Indian War, had its origin on this side of the water and was caused by boundary disputes between the English and French, concerning their possessions in North America. It was closely connected, however, with the Seven Years War in which France and England participated.

A glance at the situation in America and a brief comparison of the belligerents is necessary to an understanding of the ultimate re-

sults of these wars. The English, for the most part, had come to America to make homes for themselves where they should be free from political or religious persecution. The objects of the French were to build up a great colonial empire with military government, to Christianize the natives, and to gain wealth from the fur trade. The English had been left by their home government to develop themselves and consequently became strong and self-reliant. The French government had developed a paternal attitude towards its colonists to the extent that they were unable to stand alone. The English were concentrated in a region of relatively small area. The French, far inferior in point of numbers, were scattered from Acadia to New Orleans, but had the advantage of better organization. The English were, to a great extent, tolerant of all religious beliefs; the French excluded all except Catholics from their domains. Toward the Indian the Englishman adopted a policy of tolerance but did not attempt to conceal the fact that he considered the native an inferior being; the Frenchman in many instances lowered himself to the level of his ally the Indian, took for his wife an Indian squaw, and raised a family, not of Frenchmen, but of barbarians. It was natural then that the Indian should make war on the side of the French, but his aid was more apparent than real.

It is not difficult to perceive from the above the elements of weakness in the French in America, nor does one have to look far to find the germ of greatness in the English speaking colonists. The greatest advantage the French had was their centralized organization; the greatest weakness the English had was their lack of cooperation due to lack of political unity and to distrust and jealousy. Below is presented a very brief outline of the events of each of the Intercolonial Wars.

King William's War (1689-1697).—In Europe known as the "War of the Palatinate." In America King William's War consisted chiefly of French and Indian raids on the New England settlements and retaliatory measures on the part of the English colonists. Dover, New Hampshire, was destroyed; Pemaquid, Maine, met a similar fate. In 1690 a party of French and Indians burned the town of Schenectady, New York, massacring more than sixty of the inhabitants. The English, now thoroughly aroused, sent a land force to attack Montreal and a fleet to strike at Quebec. Frontenac, governor of Canada, easily repelled the attack on Montreal, and Sir William Phipps, who commanded the fleet sent to the St. Lawrence, soon abandoned the enterprise without having struck an effective blow. King William's War was ended by the Treaty of Ryswick, which

brought about no changes in the holdings of the French and English in America.

Queen Anne's War (1702-1714).—Known in Europe as the “War of the Spanish Succession.” Queen Anne's War, similar in many respects to the war that preceded it, was the most important of the first three Interecolonial wars, for by it England acquired substantial additions to her territory in America. Deerfield, Maine, was destroyed by French and Indians, and a few years later Haverhill, Massachusetts. After two unsuccessful attempts on Port Royal, Acadia, the town was finally taken by the English in 1710. Port Royal was henceforth called Annapolis and Acadia became Nova Scotia. The English again determined to destroy the stronghold of the French in America. An expedition of twelve thousand men sailed under Sir Hovedon Walker for the St. Lawrence, while a force of twenty-five hundred men under Colonel Nicholson started for Montreal by way of Lake Champlain. Walker, like Phipps, lacked the ability and courage necessary to conduct successfully such an enterprise. A dense fog in the St. Lawrence led to the loss of several ships and a thousand men, whereupon Walker refused to go further and brought the remainder of his fleet home. By the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, the British gained permanent possession of Acadia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay territory. This was the opening wedge for the fall of New France in America.

King George's War (1744-1748).—Known in Europe as the “War of the Austrian Succession.” After Queen Anne's War came a lull which the French used to advantage in strengthening their hold on Canada and the Mississippi Valley. On Cape Breton Island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence was built Louisburg, the most imposing fortress in America. Military posts were established at Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and at almost a score of other points in the Mississippi-Ohio region; forts were built at Niagara, Detroit, on Lake Champlain, and elsewhere in the North to guard the lake regions.

King George's War was marked by the usual Indian massacres and by one event of far greater importance. Under the leadership of William Pepperell of Maine an expedition of New England forces was launched against Louisburg, which now guarded the entrance to the St. Lawrence. To the astonishment of the French this formidable barrier was surrendered after having sustained a six weeks' siege. All attempts on the part of the French to recover the fortress proved futile. However, by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 each European Power involved had restored to it what it had possessed before the war. Thus, to the righteous indignation of the English colonists in America, Louisburg was given back to France.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR (1754-1763).

Since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, like those of Ryswick and Utrecht, had failed to settle the question of supremacy for the rival claimants to North America, the smoldering sparks of hostility were soon to be fanned into the conflagration which we know as the French and Indian War. The immediate cause of the conflict was the encroachment of the French on territory claimed by Virginia and other English colonies. The French built forts at Presque Isle, the present-site of Erie, at LeBoeuf, and at Venango. The governor of Virginia, Dinwiddie, sent a messenger in the person of George Washington, to make a formal protest to the French commandants in this region. The protest having failed to produce the desired effect, the governor, in 1754, sent a small force under Col. Washington to occupy the region where the Allegheny and the Monongahela join to form the Ohio. Washington found the French already in possession, beginning work on Fort Duquesne, and was forced to drop back to Great Meadows. Here he built a rude stockade called Fort Necessity, and here he was forced to capitulate after a sharp skirmish with the French.

The aggressive attitude on the part of France aroused in the English colonies, to some extent at least, an appreciation of the danger confronting the colonists. A colonial conference was held at Albany in 1754, known as the Albany Congress. Benjamin Franklin presented a plan of union, known as the Albany Plan, which provided for a president-general of the colonies to be appointed by the Crown, and for a council to be elected by the legislatures of the various colonies. The plan was rejected, since it met opposition from both the British Government and the colonies. Had Franklin succeeded in securing the adoption of his ideas, the English would have been spared the defeats, due to lack of cooperation, that marked the first two or three years of the French and Indian War.

Having determined to renew the conflict, the English gradually developed a plan of attack that ultimately brought success. There follows a list of British military objectives, sometimes called the "Five Objective Points": (1) Fort Duquesne, on the present site of Pittsburgh, which controlled the entrance to the Ohio Valley; (2) Ticonderoga and Crown Point, dominating the overland route to Canada via Lake Champlain; (3) Forts Niagara and Frontenac on the Great Lakes, protecting the French monopoly of fur trade in the Lake region; (4) Louisburg on Cape Breton Island, which closed the entrance to the St. Lawrence and furnished a rendezvous from which to launch raids against the New England coast; and (5) Quebec and Montreal, headquarters of New France and the root of French activity

A force of British regulars was now sent to America to aid the Colonial troops. In June, 1755, General Braddock, commanding this force, set out from Virginia in his march against Fort Duquesne. Braddock was unfamiliar with Indian warfare and campaigning in the wilderness. Having lost much valuable time and having impeded his force with all manner of useless paraphernalia, he finally arrived in the vicinity of Duquesne, only to meet a most disastrous and bloody defeat at the hands of the French and their Indian allies. For the time being no further attempt was made on the fort. In 1757, however, on the approach of General Forbes with a force consisting chiefly of Virginians, the fort was evacuated and burned, the French retiring into Canada.

In 1755 occurred the deportation of the Acadians. These French settlers were removed from the region because of their repeated refusals to swear allegiance to the English and because their continual plotting and treachery was a menace to British control of the region. The Acadians were taken to various ports along the Atlantic coast and there released.

During 1757, Montcalm, the able commander-in-chief of the French forces, advanced southward from Lake Champlain and captured Fort William Henry, held by an English force under Colonel Munroe. The surrender of the fort was followed by a terrible Indian massacre of the prisoners.

Under the direction of William Pitt, the new English Premier, a large force under General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen was sent against Louisburg in 1758. A landing on Cape Breton Island was effected, and after weeks of incessant bombardment the great fortress fell into the hands of the English, never again to be returned to the French.

A severe defeat sustained by the English under Abercrombie when they attempted to capture Ticonderoga was partly offset by Colonel Bradstreet's brilliant capture of Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario. With the fall of Frontenac, French communication between Quebec and the Ohio Valley was entirely broken.

In 1759 General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson captured Fort Niagara. A little later Ticonderoga and Crown Point were abandoned and occupied by Amherst's forces, while the French retreated down the Richelieu River.

The English now prepared energetically to carry the last of their objectives. The fall of Louisburg had prepared the way to Quebec. In June, 1759, a great fleet, bearing a force of eight thousand men under General Wolfe, entered the St. Lawrence and was soon anchored

near the city. Against Wolfe was pitted the great French general Montcalm. For weeks the armies lay watching each other, ready to take advantage of any unexpected opening for attack. At length Wolfe found a point where the cliffs could be scaled and the Plains of Abraham reached. Having moved his troops to a point above the city, he sent them clambering in single file up the winding path to the tableland overlooking Quebec. Here occurred the battle of the Plains of Abraham, which resulted in the complete defeat of the French. Both Wolfe and Montcalm fell mortally wounded and neither lived to see the surrender of Quebec, which occurred a few days later. Montreal soon surrendered to General Amherst, and French dominion in America was practically at an end.

Although the fall of Quebec practically ended the war in America, the treaty of peace was not signed until three years later, at the end of the Seven Years War on the Continent of Europe. The Treaty of Paris, signed in 1763, was unique in the magnitude of its land sessions. Spain had allied herself with France during the war and had lost Cuba and the Philippines. These England gave back to Spain, taking Florida in exchange. France ceded to Spain, in compensation for her losses, the city of New Orleans and the vast territory known as Louisiana, lying between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. To the English France surrendered the remainder of her American possessions, including Canada, the Ohio Valley, and all her islands, except St. Pierre and Miquelon, two little islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Pontiac's War.—When the English began to occupy the area around the Great Lakes, which had been ceded to them by the French, they found the Indians bitterly hostile. Pontiac, probably the ablest man of his race, made a plot to exterminate the whites in the region. Almost every tribe of the Algonquin family joined his conspiracy. The attacks were made simultaneously everywhere, and all English posts fell into the hands of the savages except Detroit, Fort Pitt and Niagara. The Indians yielded only after a fierce struggle of three years.

CAUSES AND EVENTS LEADING TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Causes leading to the American Revolution may readily be divided into two classes—remote and immediate causes. It is true that ‘taxation without representation’ was a potent factor in bringing on the struggle but this expression needs amplification and explanation. It seems that a separation, sooner or later, of the Colonies from Great Britain was inevitable; there had been at work for years forces that

must eventually lead to the dissolution of the political union between the two peoples. The very environment under which the American colonist lived was conducive to the development of a spirit of freedom and self-reliance. The colonists had reached a point in their development where they could govern themselves better than they could be governed by a parliament and king almost wholly out of sympathy with American ideals, institutions and customs.

The collapse of French dominion in America freed the colonies of a menace of longstanding; no longer did the colonists feel the need of British protection. Furthermore, the campaigns of the Intercolonial Wars had awakened in the colonists a realization of their own strength; they had seen the colonial troops stand firm at times when the British regulars broke and fled. Cooperation on the part of the colonists against the French had done much toward developing a spirit of nationalism. The fact that soldiers from New England fought side by side with soldiers from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia helped to break down the state of jealousy and distrust so prevalent among the colonies, and to pave the way later for union in a common cause. Men who were later destined to play a prominent part in the affairs of the country were trained to some extent in the science of war and had developed certain powers of military leadership.

Today the English are the most liberal and enlightened colonizers in the world. India, Canada, Australia and the African provinces have been successfully colonized and governed on the very principles for which the American colonists fought during the Revolution. Prior to that time, however, the British government looked upon its colonies as something to be exploited for the sole benefit of the mother country. This is well illustrated through the medium of the odious Navigation Acts. These laws, the first of which had been passed as early as the middle of the seventeenth century and supplemented from time to time later, gave the colonists their first definite grievance against England. In substance, these laws forbade commercial intercourse between the American Colonies and foreign countries, except such commerce as should be carried on in English ships at English rates; provided for prohibitive duties on various imports; and prohibited the development of many kinds of manufacturing in America. The Acts fell heavily on the colonies, particularly in the north. At first they were not enforced, but when Grenville became head of the English government he determined to secure a rigid enforcement of the Navigation Acts and thus armed his custom officials with "Writs of Assistance," or search warrants empowering them to search private homes or storehouses for smuggled goods. This aroused the ire of the

Americans and became the subject of bitter denunciation on the part of such men as James Otis and Patrick Henry.

MORE IMMEDIATE CAUSES AND EVENTS.

After the close of the French and Indian War the British government sought a means of decreasing its enormous war debt. The attention of Parliament was naturally turned toward America. Despite the eloquent pleadings of such friends of the colonies as Bourke, Barre, Pitt, Fox and others, it was determined to tax the Americans. In 1765 Parliament passed the famous Stamp Act. The stamps, ranging widely in point of value, were to be placed on newspapers, licenses, deeds, legal documents and many other papers. The violent opposition to the Act in America was a shock to its promoters. From New England to the Carolinas raged the storm of furious denunciation. A Stamp Act Congress, responding to a call from Massachusetts, met in New York and drew up a declaration of rights and petitioned the king and Parliament. Sons of Liberty organized to prevent the enforcing of the law, and the opposition, growing in intensity, was marked by riots and the burning of such stamps as had reached America. Nor did the opposition to taxation without representation lessen even when in 1766 the Stamp Act was repealed; for with the repeal was passed the Declaratory Act, asserting Parliament's right to tax the colonies in all cases whatsoever.

American joy over the repeal of the Stamp Tax was short-lived, for the following year Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, secured in Parliament the passage of the Townshend Acts laying import duty on tea, glass, paper, etc., sent to the colonies. This indirect method of taxation met with no better success than had the Stamp Tax. Parliament centered on tea its efforts to enforce the new acts and prepared to send a number of shiploads of it to America.

Meanwhile, the British government, pursuing its policy of maintaining a standing army in America, had stationed a number of troops in Boston. In 1770 occurred rioting in that city, known as the "Boston Massacre," in which a number of soldiers and civilians lost their lives. This affair had naturally the effect of aggravating the ill feeling throughout the colonies. Next, one of the king's revenue schooners was seized on the Rhode Island coast by a band of infuriated citizens and burned.

Affairs in America were now rapidly approaching a crisis. The breach was widening and there were needed but a few more inflammatory acts on either side to precipitate the conflict. These now occurred in rapid succession.

In 1773 occurred the Boston Tea Party, during which some citizens of Boston threw into the harbor a cargo of tea, the first to arrive after the duty had been laid on that commodity. Similar disorders occurred at various other American ports. There follows an outline of what are called the "Five Intolerable Acts."

Boston Port Bill.—Passed as a result of the Boston Tea Party, and providing for the changing of the capital of Massachusetts from Boston to Salem, and for the closing of the port of Boston to the commerce of the world.

Regulating Act.—Suspending the civil government of Massachusetts and placing the colony under martial law.

Transportation Act.—Providing that persons accused of certain crimes of a political nature be transported to England for trial.

Quartering Act.—Providing that troops be quartered and maintained in the Colonies at the expense of the people.

Quebec Act.—Giving to Quebec the territory north of the Ohio and west of the Alleghenies in an effort to punish the colonists and to win favor with the French Catholics of Canada.

The Colonies now put aside all petty jealousies and united in the common cause. Aid was sent to Massachusetts, on which colony the king's hand had fallen heaviest. Agreements of non-intercourse with England were made; Committees of Safety organized; troops raised, armed and drilled to be ready for any eventuality; and a call sent out to each colony for representation to a Continental Congress.

First Continental Congress, 1774.—Met in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia. It was controlled by a number of conservative men who advised moderation, and who were determined that nothing should be left undone that would secure a redress of grievance by peaceful means. A petition was drawn up and sent to the king. After a session of a few weeks Congress adjourned to meet a year later.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

CAMPAIGN IN NEW ENGLAND, 1775-1776.

By the spring of 1775, several thousand British regulars had reached New England, most of whom were quartered in or near Boston. More troops were on their way to America and the British felt that they had the situation well in hand. Actual hostilities began late in April, when General Gage, the commander of the British forces, dispatched from Boston eight hundred regulars under Colonel Smith to arrest two famous patriots, John Hancock and Samuel Adams, who were in hiding at Lexington. The expedition was to proceed to Concord, four miles beyond Lexington, to destroy a quantity of military supplies, collected at that village by the Americans.

General Gage observed the utmost secrecy in carrying out his plans, but his purpose was thwarted by the vigilance of the Americans. No sooner had the troops left Boston, late on the night of April 18, than the news of their coming was carried far and wide by Paul Revere and other patriots. Beacon fires flashed from hill top to hill top. Hundreds of minute-men responded to the call to arms; Hancock and Adams hurriedly left Lexington on their way to Philadelphia, where the Second Continental Congress was soon to meet; stores were hastily taken from Concord and secreted in the neighboring forests. When the British reached Lexington at sunrise on the morning of April 19, Major Pitcairn, leading the advance, found himself confronted by about forty minute-men under Captain Parker. Ordered to disperse, the Americans did so only after several volleys had been fired on each side. Thus occurred the first bloodshed of the Revolution. Colonel Smith had become alarmed at the vigorous preparations for battle on the part of the Americans and had wisely sent back to Boston for reinforcements. In the meantime, his troops hastened on to Concord, which they entered unopposed and destroyed what little they found there. Several hundred Americans who had congregated on a neighboring hill, now grew bolder and engaged in a brisk skirmish with the British. Finding his position untenable, Colonel Smith began his retreat to Boston, only to find that his troops, fatigued by their long march and decimated by the withering fire poured in from the rear and the flanks, were fast becoming demoralized. Met by a hail of bullets from almost every stone fence, clump of trees, or farm building along the road, the British were soon in complete flight, rapidly becoming a real race with death. At Lexington they were met by Lord Percy with twelve hundred men coming to their rescue. For a time Percy held the Americans at bay by means of his field guns, but on the British retreat being resumed, the patriots attacked in ever-increasing numbers, desisting only at nightfall when the regulars reached the outskirts of Boston and gained the protection of the guns on the warships in the harbor. The British had lost nearly three hundred men and the blood of a hundred patriots had been shed. From this night began the siege of Boston, which continued until the spring of 1776.

The news of the battle of Lexington and Concord spread far and wide, arousing the people throughout the thirteen colonies. These rose in general rebellion against their rulers and soon nearly every royal government in America had fallen. Three weeks after Lexington and Concord, Ethan Allen and Seth Warner, leaders of the Green Mountain Boys of Vermont, seized by surprise the strong fortresses of

Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which guarded with their great guns the watershed between the valleys of the Hudson and St. Lawrence.

On the very day of the capture of Ticonderoga, the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia. Most of its members were still hopeful of reconciliation between the colonies and the mother country. This Congress, like its predecessor, now drafted a new petition to the king and sent it to England by special messenger. Addresses were also sent to the people of Great Britain, to Ireland, and to Canada. The Second Continental Congress, while as yet disclaiming any intention of casting off allegiance to Great Britain, recognized the existence of a state of war and prepared for its vigorous prosecution. Washington was chosen commander-in-chief of the Continental Army, the issue of two million dollars in paper money was authorized, provisions were made for the organization of a navy, various Colonies were authorized to form local governments, and many other matters were attended to. Gradually, due to circumstances, Congress was forced to assume most of the functions of a national government. This Congress, in fact, sat almost continually from 1775 to 1781, when the Congress under the Confederation took its place. The work of the Second Congress will be touched upon from time to time in the discussion of the war.

Meanwhile the colonists continued to besiege Boston and were under the command of General Ward, pending the arrival of General Washington. The army consisted of a few thousand New Englanders, poorly armed and even more poorly trained. General Gage now had ten thousand well equipped regulars in Boston, and had recovered to a great extent from the shock of his losses at Lexington and Concord. The American army extended in a great semi-circle of sixteen miles from Cambridge to the Mystic river. Gage, to insure the safety of the city, now tardily determined to occupy some of the hills overlooking Boston. Hearing of his intention, General Ward anticipated him by sending Colonel Prescott with a force of twelve hundred men to occupy and fortify Bunker Hill. In the darkness the troops occupied Breeds Hill instead and immediately began to construct earthworks. At daybreak of June 16th the British discovered what was on foot and brought their artillery into play. The intense bombardment having failed to dislodge the Americans, Gage very foolhardy determined to carry the hill by assault. A much better plan would have been to send a force to Charleston Neck to cut off the retreat of Prescott's force and eventually to starve it into surrender. Calmly the British set about their preparations, and by three o'clock in the afternoon three thousand, under General Howe, had been landed at Charleston and were in position to attack. Steadily the redclad columns moved up the hill. Not a shot was fired until the British were within a few feet of their

objective. Then suddenly there burst out the most intense rifle fire all along the entire American line. Again and again the Americans fired, until the British broke in disorder and fled down the hill, leaving the ground strewn with their dead and wounded. Not fifteen minutes elapsed before Howe's men reformed and again dashed up the hill, only to meet the same bloody repulse. More than an hour now passed before the regulars made their final attempt to take the hill. Smoke from the burning village of Charleston concealed from view Howe's tired and chagrined troops. At length, the British for the third time swept up the slope, to be met as before by the same destructive fire. Suddenly, however, the American fire slackened, then ceased. The scanty supply of ammunition was exhausted. Leaping over the obstructions, the English engaged the Colonials hand to hand, bayonets against clubbed muskets. The contest was now an unequal one, and the Americans slowly withdrew, fighting valiantly and stubbornly contesting each bit of ground. As the retreating force crossed Charleston Neck the guns from the British warships began to get in their deadly work. The battle of Bunker Hill was a costly victory for the king's troops, since the British losses were slightly over one thousand, one-tenth of whom were officers. American casualties numbered four hundred and fifty and were incurred during the retreat. The colonists had met the British regulars and had achieved what was, in its moral effects, an important victory. The siege of Boston continued.

Two weeks after the battle of Bunker Hill, Washington arrived at Cambridge and reviewed his army. He here met his fellow-officers, Greene, Knox, Putnam, Morgan, and others, who were to serve him so faithfully during the long struggle. After the battle of Bunker Hill the British seemed to overestimate the strength of the American forces and General William Howe, who was made commander-in-chief, remained inactive for months. Washington used this period of inaction to advantage in reorganizing his army, drilling his men and securing adequate supplies.

In the fall of 1775 Congress fitted out an expedition to be undertaken against Canada with a view to forcing peace by the capture of Montreal and Quebec. This force of about three thousand men was to invade Canada by two routes. General Montgomery led two thousand men into the valley of the St. Lawrence by way of Lake Champlain, while Benedict Arnold with the rest of the force advanced on Quebec through the Maine wilderness. Montgomery seized Montreal and in December joined Arnold before Quebec. On the last day of the year, amid a blinding snow-storm, the combined force attacked the city, only to be driven back with heavy loss. Montgomery was killed and Arnold badly wounded. The fragments of the army suffered horribly

from exposure, disease and lack of proper food and clothing, and the following spring straggled back into New England. This disastrous defeat was due chiefly to the poor judgment shown by Congress in sending an insufficient force on such a stupendous undertaking.

Meanwhile, Washington's army before Boston had been reenforced by troops from the various colonies and he had about perfected his plans for forcing the evacuation of the city. A number of heavy cannon had been sent down from Ticonderoga and Crown Point by ox-sled during the winter. This artillery now proved of the greatest value to the Americans. The British with their usual lack of foresight had neglected to occupy Dorchester Heights, an eminence overlooking Boston and the harbor. Washington determined to fortify this position, so in order to conceal his plans, he ordered a long-range bombardment of the city from another point. The British replied in kind and the roar of artillery effectually covered the movement of troops to Dorchester Heights on the night of March 4, 1776, and drowned the sound of pick and shovel in the frozen ground as the Americans prepared their earthworks. On the day following the British became aware of the new operations, and despite the lesson of Bunker Hill, determined to carry the place by storm. However, a violent gale in the forenoon made the harbor too rough for the transport of troops. Within a few hours the American position was manifestly too strong to be taken by direct attack, so Howe had no alternative other than to evacuate the city, since Washington's artillery could batter to pieces it and the shipping in the harbor. Under the menace of the American guns hurried preparations for withdrawal were made, and before the end of the month Howe and his forces, accompanied by nearly two thousand loyalists, set sail for Halifax, Nova Scotia. Thus ended the first phase of the Revolution.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

The Second Continental Congress, up to the fall of 1775, had received no news of the fate of its petition sent to the king. In October word came that the king had not even deigned to receive the petition. At the same time came news of the hiring of foreign mercenaries to be used against the colonies. It was evident that the king and Parliament meant to awe the colonies into submission, but their acts only served to deepen the resentment of the patriots. From this moment Congress assumed a bolder tone. Committees were appointed to correspond with foreign nations and the colonies were urged to set up governments independent of Great Britain. This change of attitude toward England was not confined to Congress only, but became very

general throughout the country. Although the first steps toward independence had been made by the various colonies, Congress, weighed down by the gravity of the situation and by the responsibility incident to the colossal task of creating a new government, was slow to act. Delegates feared to act hastily in the matter and waited until sentiment in their home colonies became crystallized on the question.

In June, Richard Henry Lee, delegate from Virginia, offered a resolution "That these United States are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states, and that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown." Lee's resolution was tabled for three weeks and a committee appointed to draw up a suitable form of declaration. Thomas Jefferson was chosen chairman of the committee and to him fell the task of writing the document. By July 1st, the necessary authority to act in the matter had been received by the delegates from each colony, so Lee's resolution was again taken up. After a short debate, the resolution was passed unanimously by the votes of the thirteen colonies. The document written by Jefferson was adopted by the Congress on the evening of July 4th.

The Declaration of Independence expressed in concise, forcible language America's determination to break off all relations with Great Britain, and consisted, for the most part, of an enumeration of the political crimes of His Majesty and the grievances of the colonies that furnished the basis for their action. The news of the great act was spread far and wide and was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the people.

WASHINGTON'S CAMPAIGN IN NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY, 1776-1777.

Up to the summer of 1776 the war had been confined to New England, except for an unsuccessful attack of a British fleet on Fort Moultrie, a little local fighting in North Carolina, and Dunmore's burning of Norfolk. The main British force, under Howe had assembled at Halifax after the evacuation of Boston. Here it was reorganized and here it received heavy reinforcements. Washington, fearing that the next attack would be on New York, anticipated Howe's plan by occupying the city with his force several weeks before the arrival of the British.

In August the British landed on Staten Island with 30,000 men. Washington occupied Brooklyn Heights on Long Island, and Manhattan, with hardly more than half as large a force. Half of his army was under Putnam on Long Island. Howe attacked Brooklyn Heights with 20,000 men, and inflicted a severe defeat on the Americans, capturing part of Putnam's force under Sullivan. Only Wash-

ington's energy and quickness in perceiving the situation and collecting boats in the East river, enabled Putnam's troops to reach safety. In a dense fog, which concealed their movements from the British, the troops escaped to Manhattan Island and joined Washington and the main force.

With the loss of Brooklyn Heights, Washington could no longer hold New York. As he was retreating northward on Manhattan and before he could leave the island, he was overtaken by Howe. Then occurred the battle of Harlem Heights, by which Washington checked the British long enough to enable his army to escape up the Hudson. At White Plains Howe again attacked the Americans, but was beaten off.

Much against the advice of Washington, Congress insisted on American garrisons being left at Fort Washington and Fort Lee, which guarded the entrance to the Hudson. Fort Washington was soon stormed by Howe and forced to surrender; Fort Lee was now hurriedly evacuated. Leaving 7,000 men under General Charles Lee at North Castle in New York State, Washington moved with the rest of his army to Hackensack, New Jersey. Lee had been ordered to follow the commander-in-chief, but he disobeyed orders and refused to move. Thus, on the approach of Howe, Washington was forced into flight across New Jersey. He had reached the Delaware before Lee showed a disposition to act. On Lee's being taken prisoner by the British, his force, now under command of Sullivan, moved with commendable speed to join the commander-in-chief. Having collected all available boats, Washington crossed the Delaware into Pennsylvania, just ahead of the pursuing British. General Howe, believing that armed rebellion had collapsed, retired to New York, after having distributed his force at Trenton, Bordentown, Brunswick and Princeton. It was planned to wait until the Delaware froze over and then to resume a leisurely march to the "rebel capital" at Philadelphia. New Jersey was now held firmly in the grasp of the British.

Patriot hopes had now reached their lowest stage; defeat after defeat, intrigue, and even treachery, had done much to break down the spirit of the soldiers. Congress had lost heart and support for the army was not forthcoming from this quarter. But it was the dark before the dawn. Washington now conceived a brilliant enterprise. Learning that a thousand Hessians were stationed at Trenton under Colonel Rahl, he determined to recross the Delaware above Trenton and attack this force by surprise. On Christmas night, with 2,400 men, he crossed the ice-filled river nine miles from Trenton, marched south along the New Jersey shores, and at daybreak fell on the town. So sudden was the onslaught that the enemy surrendered almost with-

out resistance. Several field guns, over a thousand muskets, and other stores were taken.

The victory at Trenton, coming as it did when armed resistance to the king's troops was supposed to be practically at an end, instilled new life into the patriot cause and was followed by redoubled efforts on the part of Congress and the supporters of the army. Having taken his prisoners to Philadelphia, Washington again crossed the Delaware into New Jersey, where Cornwallis was hastily reassembling the units of his army. The term of enlistment of a large number of the men of Washington's force expired with the end of 1776, but the enthusiasm engendered by the victory at Trenton, together with the fifty thousand dollars in cash raised chiefly through the efforts of Robert Morris, had a potent effect in stimulating re-enlistment and in restoring harmony in what otherwise would have been a demoralized force.

On the approach of Cornwallis with his vastly superior force, the American commander-in-chief had taken up a position a little south of Trenton. Washington now determined to avoid an engagement, if possible. Hemmed in by the river on one side and by the British on the other, the Americans would in a few hours be at the mercy of the enemy. In this extremity Washington acted with his characteristic decision and good judgment. Leaving a few men to keep his campfires burning to deceive the British, with his main force he quietly slipped around the enemy's left wing and at daylight was in the rear of Cornwallis' army. At Princeton he met a British force of two thousand men under Colonel Mawhood, on its way to reenforce Cornwallis. Battle was now given immediately with the result that the British soon sought safety in flight, leaving the Americans exultant over another victory to be ranked with that at Trenton. At a critical moment of the battle Washington exhibited the remarkable physical courage that had always characterized him. Observing that one of his militia regiments showed signs of giving way before the British attack, with an utter disregard for danger, he rode out to within thirty yards of the enemy's line and sat there to encourage his troops. The billowing smoke of battle for a moment hid him from the sight of his own men. With shouts the Americans surged forward after their commander, carrying everything before them.

Cornwallis, finding that Washington had eluded him, and hearing of the battle at Princeton, broke camp and hurried to Brunswick to protect his stores there. Washington now retired to Morristown Heights, where he went into camp for the remainder of the winter. His strong position there menaced British communication with New

York; hence, Cornwallis determined to give up his attempts on Philadelphia, for the time being at least, and to return to New York to remain until the coming of summer made another campaign advisable.

BURGOYNE'S CAMPAIGN IN NEW YORK STATE, 1777.

By the spring of 1777 the British government was ready to put into effect a well-conceived plan of operations in America. The new England States were to be severed from the Middle Atlantic and Southern States. This division of Colonial America was to be effected by the following means: (1) An army under General Burgoyne was to move southward from Canada into New York State via the Richelieu river, Lake Champlain, and the Hudson; (2) A thousand men under General St. Leger were to move eastward from Lake Ontario, following the Mohawk river to a point near its junction with the Hudson; (3) General Howe, from his base at New York City, was to move up the Hudson with a large force, and was eventually to join Burgoyne and St. Leger at Albany.

The defeat of the whole enterprise was largely due to a bit of negligence on the part of Lord Germaine, Minister of War. Burgoyne and St. Leger received their instructions to proceed to the Hudson. Howe's orders, however, were mislaid, leaving him wholly ignorant of his part in the whole program. When the mistake was discovered, his force was already in the Chesapeake in the campaign against Philadelphia, and it was too late to recall him. Clinton had been left at New York with a small force, but his efforts to cooperate in the campaign for control of the Hudson proved fruitless.

General Philip Schuyler, commanding a force of American regulars or troops of the Continental line, supplemented by several thousand militia, was entrusted with the defense of the Hudson. Washington was busy preparing for the defense of Philadelphia and could spare but an inconsiderable portion of his force. There follows, in brief detail, an account of the chief events marking the campaign for possession of the Hudson Valley.

By the end of June, 1777, General Burgoyne had reached Lake Champlain with a well equipped army of eight thousand men, consisting chiefly of British regulars and Hessians. Burgoyne had made the mistake of recruiting a few hundred Indians. A rumor that he intended to let loose on New York State the horrors of Indian warfare caused hundreds of colonists in that region to join Schuyler's force.

Burgoyne won initial success by recovering Ticonderoga, which had been seized by the Americans at the beginning of the war. Schuyler had left General St. Clair with three thousand men in com-

mand of this important post, which was considered impregnable. Due to St. Claire's carelessness, Burgoyne easily outgeneraled his less able opponent, and St. Clair fled to join Schuyler and the main American army at Fort Edward. The Americans were greatly depressed by the fall of Ticonderoga, but aroused by the imminence of their danger, hundreds from New York and New England flocked to Schuyler's camp until his army soon outnumbered the British. Schuyler now set to work to impede the progress of the British and so well did he accomplish this that in twenty-four days Burgoyne had advanced but twenty-six miles. His army was beginning to suffer from hunger, and his Indian allies were beginning to desert.

Having heard that the patriots had collected stores and munitions at Bennington, Vermont, Burgoyne now detached five hundred Hessian troops under Colonel Baum, with orders to proceed to Bennington. Colonel John Stark, in command of several hundred Green Mountain Boys, was in the region and immediately attacked these Hessians. Re-enforcements of five hundred more Hessians under Colonel Breyman failed to avert disaster. Stark and his men killed or captured almost the entire force of one thousand men. The battle of Bennington resulted in unretrievable loss to Burgoyne. His way south was now almost entirely blocked by a greatly superior force of Americans and his troops were on half rations. His only hope lay in co-operation from the Mohawk or from New York. His hopes were destined to prove vain, however. Leaving Burgoyne hemmed in by Schuyler's force, let us follow the fortunes of St. Leger and his force of British, Tories and Indians.

St. Leger, according to program, had moved eastward from Lake Ontario. He met with little resistance until he reached Fort Stanwix, an American post near the headwaters of the Mohawk. Since his force was too small to carry the place by storm, he was forced to lay siege to the fort. General Herkimer, an old German resident of the Mohawk region, now raised a force of militia and marched to the relief of Stanwix. At Oriskany, a few miles from the fort, Herkimer was ambushed by part of St. Leger's force consisting of Tories and Indians. Here occurred the bloodiest single conflict in the Revolution. In the most desperate hand-to-hand fighting each side lost fully a third of its men. Herkimer was mortally wounded. At length the British and Indians retired leaving the Americans in possession of the field, but the siege of Stanwix had not been raised. Two weeks later Arnold came to the rescue of the fort, in command of a force detached from Schuyler's army. By a clever ruse, he played on the fears of the Indians and brought about the precipitate flight of St. Leger and his

entire force. Thus, Burgoyne was deprived of any chance of support from the west.

In the meantime Sir Henry Clinton was slowly moving up the Hudson with a small force, but Burgoyne's army was now in such desperate straits that he could not wait until the arrival of Clinton. Indeed, it is likely that had the two forces been able to unite, both, instead of one, would have fallen into the hands of the Americans.

Burgoyne was now almost completely surrounded. Schuyler had unjustly been deprived of his command and General Horatio Gates placed in his stead. Burgoyne at length (Sept. 19), determined to hazard a battle. The Americans were strongly intrenched on Bemis Heights. Arnold, with three thousand men, met the British at Freeman's Farm. A desperate battle lasted until nightfall, with little advantage on either side. Still Burgoyne had not broken through the encircling line of Americans.

Nearly three weeks after the first battle of Saratoga, Burgoyne made a last desperate attempt to cut his way through the American lines (Oct. 9). His forces were driven back at practically every point. Fierce counter attacks led by Arnold completely demoralized the British. There was now nothing for Burgoyne to do but to surrender.

On October 12, Burgoyne secured a conference with Gates. In what is known as the "Saratoga Convention," Gates accepted the surrender of the British force and promised the troops transportation to England on condition that they must not again serve in America during the war. In all, six thousand men were surrendered with arms and munitions of war. Congress declined to carry out Gates' terms fully. Consequently most of the British and Hessian prisoners were sent to detention camps in Pennsylvania and Virginia, where they were held until the end of hostilities.

The results of the surrender of Burgoyne's army at Saratoga can hardly be overestimated. The British plan of the war was completely broken up. The campaign had cost the British a loss of at least ten thousand men. Saratoga marked the turning point of the war; in fact, so important is the battle considered that it has been classed among the decisive battles of the world. This victory, more than any other agent, secured for us openly given aid from France and imbued the American people with the firm belief that we should ultimately make good our claim to independence.

AID FROM FRANCE.

From the beginning of the Revolution France had given considerable aid to America. This help was given secretly, however, until after Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga. Soon after the opening of the struggle, Arthur Lee, as agent for Virginia, secured under a ficti-

tious firm name, military stores to the amount of \$200,000. Congress then sent Silas Deane to France, and with Lee he secured two hundred heavy guns, four thousand tents, a large supply of small arms, and uniforms for thirty thousand men.

After the Declaration of Independence, Benjamin Franklin was sent to Paris to join Lee and Deane. Franklin for more than a year labored to secure at the French court the recognition of the United States. In this he was at first unsuccessful, but Vergennes, the French foreign minister, made a secret arrangement to convey to America two million francs a year in quarterly payments, to be repaid after the war in merchandise. Three shiploads of army stores were also sent.

When news of the surrender of Burgoyne reached Paris, the king sent word to Franklin that he was now ready to acknowledge the independence of the United States. In February, 1778, a secret treaty was concluded between the two countries. By this treaty the United States made solemn agreement not to make terms with England until that country had recognized American independence. From 1778 to the end of the war France gave considerable military aid to the United States. Her ports were open to our privateers and ships of the navy, and provided convenient bases from which to operate against English shipping. John Paul Jones and other American officers were fitted out with ships more or less seaworthy. French fleets from time to time operated on our Atlantic seaboard, notably at Newport and Yorktown. At the same time land forces were engaged in cooperation with the American troops. Several noted Frenchmen, among whom were Lafayette and De Kalb, commanded American troops in numerous engagements.

The motives of the French government in giving aid to America were not wholly unselfish, it is true, but there did exist in France a strong sympathy with the American colonies in their effort to throw off the yoke of monarchical government. A deep-seated hatred of England and an effort to do her harm for which she was in no position to retaliate, were undoubtedly potent factors in determining French attitude. Nor must we lose sight of the fact that the remarkable personal popularity of Franklin had much to do with the success of our cause at the French court. However, France did lend valuable and timely aid in our struggle for independence, and it should be a source of pride to every American that at last we have paid the long-standing debt to our sister republic.

CAMPAIGN AROUND PHILADELPHIA, 1777-1778.

During the year 1777 two important military campaigns were being conducted simultaneously. While Burgoyne was being success-

fully opposed in New York State, Washington and his force were making every effort to protect Philadelphia. After the battle of Princeton, Washington had gone into winter quarters at Morristown Heights, New Jersey, while Howe's force returned to New York. In the summer of 1777 Howe determined to make another attempt to capture Philadelphia. Instead of marching overland from New York, he placed his troops on board transports and sailed for Chesapeake Bay. In order to avoid the forts at the mouth of the Delaware, he preferred to march on Philadelphia from the head of the Chesapeake. Washington, learning of Howe's intentions, broke camp at Morristown and hastened to place his force of eight thousand men between the British and Philadelphia.

Howe's force of about 15,000 men landed near Elkton, Maryland, and began to march toward the capital. Washington, who had taken a strong position at Chadd's Ford on the Brandywine in southern Pennsylvania, realized that public sentiment demanded that a blow be struck in defense of Philadelphia, and hence decided to risk an engagement, although he had little expectation of being able to stop Howe's superior force. The two forces came together Sept. 11, 1777. Cornwallis, with part of the British force made a flank movement and gained the rear of Washington's right wing under Sullivan. This advantage decided the battle, since the Americans were forced to drop back slowly, fighting desperately as they went. Washington had lost a thousand men and the city of Philadelphia was at the mercy of Howe. Congress fled to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, leaving Washington dictator for sixty days. The British entered the capital a few days later.

Washington's army remained near Philadelphia waiting for an opportunity to strike the British line at some vulnerable point. Despite heavy losses incurred at Brandywine, the men were in good spirits due to encouraging reports received from the Hudson Valley. An opportunity such as Washington had been looking for at length presented itself. Howe had stationed a portion of his army at Germantown, a few miles north of the city. This force Washington planned to attack by surprise and crush before aid could be sent from Philadelphia. His army was to advance in four divisions, and was to fall upon the enemy from four different directions at daybreak, October 4. This battle was so admirably planned that it should have resulted in a decisive victory, except for the fact that an unusually heavy fog enveloped the country on the morning of the attack. In the confusion and darkness, the American divisions failed to reach their stations at the appointed time. Consequently, the attacks were not made simultaneously. After a brief panic the British recovered from

their surprise and fought desperately. A few score British took refuge in the famous Crew mansion and there made a determined stand. In the heavy fog one American column under General Stephen fired on General Wayne's men mistaking them for the enemy. A general retreat was ordered and the British seeing their sudden advantage re-formed and pursued the Americans for several miles. The latter retreated in good order, however, saving their wounded and their artillery.

Howe now settled down in Philadelphia for the winter. Forts Mercer and Mifflin at the mouth of the Delaware had been reduced, and the river was open to Admiral Howe's fleet and to the supply ships of the army. Washington led his army to Valley Forge, a bleak region about twenty miles from the city, and quartered his men in log huts and other improvised shelters. During the terrible winter that followed, the suffering and privation among the American soldiers was intense. Insufficient clothing, scanty rations, and the ravages of disease made their plight truly pitiable. What was even worse, a conspiracy known as the "Conway Cabal," was set on foot in Congress and spread to certain officers in the army. The conspirators planned to influence Congress to oust Washington from command of the army. His faithful officers and soldiers felt keenly the injustice of the affair and tried in every way to show the Commander-in-chief that they had the utmost faith and confidence in him. Fortunately, Washington's friends and adherents in Congress rallied to his support and crushed the plot.

In some respects Washington's army benefited greatly from its winter at Valley Forge. While Howe's forces were growing soft and unfitted for hard campaigning, by reason of their luxurious living in a comfortable city, the American troops were drilling daily and were maintaining a discipline that would stand them in good stead later. Von Steuben, a foreign soldier of fortune, and a master of military science, worked diligently to build up a better army. When spring came he had the satisfaction of knowing that the troops of the Continental line were equal in efficiency to the best trained of European troops. The hardships of Valley Forge were endured the more cheerfully because of the great victory at Saratoga and because of the welcome news that France had formed an alliance with the United States and that a French fleet was already on its way to America.

It was rumored that the French fleet was to blockade the mouth of the Delaware. This would cut off Howe's means of receiving supplies by sea, so he determined to evacuate Philadelphia and to return to New York, which could be more easily defended. General Howe was now relieved as commander-in-chief of the British armies in

America, and Sir Henry Clinton was chosen to take his place. Clinton immediately began to carry out his plans for evacuating the city. He sent most of his heavy equipment to New York by sea, and with his army marched across New Jersey. Washington immediately broke camp and followed. At Monmouth, New Jersey, the British were overtaken and here occurred an indecisive battle that might have been a victory for the American forces had not General Charles Lee's treachery frustrated Washington's plans. Lee had been ordered to advance against Clinton's forces, but he ordered a retreat instead. Only Washington's arrival on the field at the opportune moment prevented a disaster. As it was the fight raged fiercely till nightfall. During the night Clinton again took up his march toward New York. The American army followed slowly and took up its position about the city, with headquarters in the highlands bordering the Hudson. General Lee, for his behavior at Monmouth was court-martialed and dismissed from the army.

The battle of Monmouth was the last general engagement on northern soil. Washington now took up the siege of New York, which he maintained until the end of the war, except for the few weeks spent at Yorktown in 1781.

MISCELLANEOUS EVENTS FROM 1778-1781.

In the midsummer of 1778 a force of eight hundred Tories and Indians under Colonel John Butler swept down from New York State upon the peaceful settlements in Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania. The inhabitants resisted as best they could and near the site of Wilkes-barre a battle was fought. The defeat of the patriots was followed by a horrible Indian massacre.

In November of the same year occurred a massacre at Cherry Valley, New York, which was scarcely less terrible than that at Wyoming Valley. The tories and Indians were led by Walter Butler and Joseph Brant, a famous Indian chief and protege of Sir William Johnson.

Washington determined to punish the tories and Indians for these outrages, and in 1779 sent General Sullivan into the Indian country with five thousand men. At Newton on the present site of Elmira, New York, occurred a terrific battle in which the Indians and Tories suffered a fearful defeat. Sullivan then laid waste the country, destroyed the growing crops and orchards on all sides, burned nearly forty Indian villages, and then returned after a march of 700 miles. The Iroquois power in New York never recovered from the scourge of Sullivan's raid.

Early in 1778 George Rogers Clark, a young Virginian, conceived the plan of wresting the region north of the Ohio from the British. The forts in this region had long been bases from which Indian raids were launched against the growing settlements west of the Alleghenys, particularly in Kentucky and Tennessee. In May Clark floated down the Ohio from Pittsburgh to its mouth, taking with him one hundred and eighty picked frontiersmen. After a terrible march, this little band captured Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and other posts, and the country was annexed to Virginia as the county of Illinois. This achievement of Clark was important in that it enabled the United States at the close of the war to lay claim successfully to the region north of the Ohio, later known as the Northwest Territory.

In the autumn of 1778, General Sullivan, with fifteen hundred picked men was to cooperate with a French fleet under Count d'Estaing in an attack on Newport, Rhode Island, which was held by the British. Sullivan's army was increased by several thousand New England volunteers, and success seemed certain, when a violent gale crippled and scattered the fleet, this causing the project to be abandoned.

The following year, 1779, Washington, wishing to tighten his lines about New York, gave "Mad Anthony" Wayne the task of capturing Stony Point, a strong British position a few miles south of West Point. In July General Wayne, with twelve hundred infantrymen, made a surprise attack under cover of darkness, and by a courageous bayonet charge forced the surrender of the position.

The discovery of the treason of Benedict Arnold in 1780 was a shock not only to his friends in the army but to the country at large. While commandant of West Point, our most important position on the Hudson, Arnold planned to surrender the fort to the British. For weeks he had been in communication with Clinton at New York. Only the capture of Major Andre, a British spy, on whom incriminating evidence against Arnold was found, prevented the successful culmination of his plan. Hearing of the capture of Andre, Arnold escaped to the British, and for the remainder of the war served against his countrymen. Major Andre was executed in retaliation for the hanging of Nathan Hale by the British in 1776, during the campaign near New York.

During the Revolution the United States had in service on the sea very few ships of the Navy. Hundreds of privateers, however, preyed on British shipping with considerable success. Only one naval hero of the war, John Paul Jones, has left a permanent and conspicuous name in our history. Jones in 1776 sailed from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in command of the *Ranger*, bearing important dispatches to France. On his way over he secured a number of valuable prizes.

Arriving in France, he was given command, after a long delay, of a small squadron consisting of his flagship, the *Bonhomme Richard*, the *Pallas* and the *Alliance*. Off Flamborough Head, England, he fell in with a fleet of merchantmen, convoyed by two English warships, the *Serapis* and the *Countess of Scarborough*. The *Palas* successfully attacked the *Countess of Scarborough*, and one of the most famous naval duels in history began at nightfall when Jones in the *Bonhomme Richard* engaged the *Serapis*, Captain Pearson. At length the two ships were lashed together and the sailors fought hand to hand with pistol, pike and cutlass. A number of Jones's heavy guns exploded, killing the crews, the *Bonhomme Richard* was on fire and in a sinking condition, yet the unconquerable determination of her gallant commander at length won the fight. After the surrender of the *Serapis*, Jones transferred his wounded and prisoners, just in time to prevent their being carried down by the sinking of the *Bonhomme Richard*.

CAMPAIGN IN THE SOUTH, 1778-1781.

Late in the year 1778 the theater of war was transferred to the South. The failure of Burgoyne's project of seizing the Hudson necessitated a radical change in the British plans for conducting the war. It was now planned to start with the southernmost colony, Georgia, and conquer northward with a view to holding the conquered territory should peace come in the meantime. The British leaders had about given up hope of bringing the war to an end with a clear-cut decision in favor of the mother country.

In December, 1778, nearly four thousand British regulars landed near Savannah, under command of Colonel Campbell. The small American force in the vicinity under General Robert Howe, was hopelessly outnumbered. The Americans were routed with the loss of five hundred prisoners and the city of Savannah surrendered with all its military stores. British reinforcements under General Prevost arrived, and Augusta, and other points soon fell into the hands of the enemy. Most of the year 1779 was spent by the British in completing the conquest of Georgia. The English colonial government was restored, and, since Georgia had a large percentage of its population loyalists, the British felt that they had secured a firm grasp on the South. In September General Lincoln, who had succeeded Howe as commander of the American forces in the South, moved his force into Georgia from South Carolina. A French fleet under D'Estaing arrived at the mouth of the Savannah to cooperate with Lincoln in an attempt to recover the city. After having endured a heavy bombardment for three weeks, night and day, Prevost still retained possession of Savannah. D'Estaing proposed a combined assault on the British works.

and this was carried out with desperate valor, but failed. Among the hundreds slain was Count Pulaski, a noted Polish soldier whose services had proved of great value to the American cause. Soon after the departure of the French fleet Sir Henry Clinton and General Cornwallis arrived from New York with a fleet and eight thousand soldiers.

Clinton with his combined force now marched into South Carolina, having as his objective point Charleston, which was occupied by General Lincoln and seven thousand troops. Lincoln preferred a siege to flight and, consequently, allowed Clinton to surround the city. Day by day the situation grew worse for the Americans until May 12, 1780, when General Lincoln surrendered the city and his entire force to the British. The fall of Charleston was one of the most disastrous events of the war. It opened the way for British control of South Carolina and destroyed for the time being, at least, all organized resistance on the part of the Americans. The British and loyalists, however, continued to be harassed by armed bands of guerrilla fighters under such leaders as Marion, Pickens, Sumter and Lee.

Washington now determined to send to the Carolinas an army to take the place of that surrendered at Charleston. General DeKalb was sent south with fifteen hundred tried troops, the militia from Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina responded to the call, and patriot hopes again rose. General Gates was chosen by Congress to lead the American forces.

Gates hastened into South Carolina and at Camden came in contact with Cornwallis' force. By a strange coincidence both commanders planned to advance on the same night, each to surprise the other. The result was a mutual surprise, with disastrous results for Gates's force. His raw militia fled at the first fire, and his regulars sacrificed themselves nobly in a vain effort to stem the British onslaught. DeKalb, commanding the troops of the Continental line fell mortally wounded. The American army was scattered far and wide and was never reorganized. Three days after the battle Gates was found with a few of his officers and no baggage nearly two hundred miles from Camden.

Undaunted by the crushing defeat at Camden, Washington immediately made plans to retrieve the losses in the South. General Nathanael Greene was chosen to lead another army into the Carolinas. Greene was an excellent leader and was ably seconded by General Morgan, who also came down from the north. Greene succeeded in raising several thousand troops. The American army was expected to start an offensive in the spring of 1781.

In the meantime the British received a blow from a wholly unexpected source. In northwestern South Carolina was the British major, Ferguson, commanding twelve hundred men, chiefly Tories. At King's Mountain, on the border of North Carolina, he was suddenly attacked in the fall of 1780 by a thousand backwoodsmen from west of the mountains. Each settlement in Kentucky and Tennessee had furnished its quota, under such leaders as Sevier, Shelby, Campbell and Williams. Campbell was chosen as the leader of the frontiersmen, but, in reality, each band fought under its own leader, as at Concord and Lexington. Surrounding King's Mountain, on which Ferguson had taken a strong position, the men of Kentucky and Tennessee assaulted the British with such gallantry that the contest soon became an unequal one. Ferguson refused to surrender, and was mortally wounded while trying to cut his way through the American force. The remnant of his command surrendered when nearly half of their number had been killed. Taking their prisoners with them, the Americans retired to their homes beyond the mountains. King's Mountain was their one contribution to the patriot cause, but the battle proved the turning point of the war in the South. From that time until the close of the war, the Patriot army was almost uniformly successful in its efforts to defeat the British plan of conquering the South.

Greene's new army took the field early in 1781. Morgan, with about a thousand men, met Colonel Tarleton with a British force at Cowpens, near King's Mountain. In the furious battle that followed Tarleton's force was almost annihilated. Cornwallis' command was greatly weakened by the battle of Cowpens, but his force being still numerically superior to that of Greene, he determined to force the Americans into an engagement and crush them at all hazards. Greene quickly perceived this and decided to lure Cornwallis as far as possible from his base of supplies at Charleston. His famous strategic retreat northward began immediately. Cornwallis took up the pursuit and followed closely for two hundred miles. At Guilford Court House, just south of the Virginia-North Carolina line, Greene suddenly turned and offered battle. The battle raged until nightfall, when the British were left in possession of the field. The real victory lay with Greene, however. He had destroyed a fourth of the British army and had left Cornwallis far from his base with a poorly provisioned and partly demoralized force. The British at once struck out for the seacoast and reached Wilmington. After a short rest they repaired to Yorktown, Virginia, to await reenforcements and supplies from New York.

North Carolina was now left in the hands of the Americans. Greene soon turned southward and regained control of the greater

part of South Carolina and Georgia. At Eutaw Spring, South Carolina, he met and defeated Colonel Stewart who commanded part of Lord Rawdon's force. After a few weeks the British were shut up in Charleston and Savannah. Thus their two year's campaigning in the south had gained them nothing.

Cornwallis was now at Yorktown and his raiding parties were harassing the neighboring country. He was skillfully opposed by Lafayette and Wayne with a few hundred men who had been sent from the north. Washington, who for three years had been guarding the Hudson and threatening New York City, now deemed the time ripe for a deciding stroke. The news reached him that a powerful French fleet under Count de Grasse, bearing twenty thousand soldiers, was about to sail from the West Indies for the Chesapeake. Washington at once determined to trap Cornwallis at Yorktown, before British aid should reach him. Having left General Heath with a few thousand men on the Hudson, and having made a feint of attacking Staten Island in order to deceive Clinton, by forced marches he hastened with his main force to join Lafayette and Wayne before Yorktown. In the meantime the French fleet had sailed into the Chesapeake. Clinton now perceived Cornwallis' danger and sent from New York a strong fleet under Admirals Hood and Graves. In the ensuing naval action the British fleet was so badly damaged that it returned to New York for repairs. This left Cornwallis to his fate. The allied armies concentrated at Yorktown late in August. Bombardment of the city began soon after. Day by day the British works crumbled under the incessant cannonading and the trenches of the French and Americans were pushed closer and closer. On October 17, 1781, the white flag was hoisted in the British lines. After negotiations lasting two days, Cornwallis agreed to surrender his force of over eight thousand men. Washington granted him exactly the same terms that he had given General Lincoln at Charleston in 1780. The British in stacking their arms were required to march between two long lines of victorious soldiers, the French on one side in their bright uniforms, the Americans on the other in their faded blue and buff.

The news of the surrender of Cornwallis was received with unbounded rejoicing everywhere throughout the United States. It was evident, both in this country and in Europe, that the master-stroke at Yorktown had ended the war. After seven years of campaigning, the British held only New York, Charleston and Savannah, and had lost two entire armies. Peace, however, was not made until 1784. In the meantime the army was not entirely disbanded, Washington maintaining his headquarters on the Hudson.

The treaty of peace was finally arranged in Paris, with Franklin, Jay and John Adams as the American representatives. Our commissioners had been instructed not to culminate a treaty with England without the consent of the French government, but there were indications that the French wished to deprive the United States of the region between the Mississippi and the Allegheny Mountains, in the interests of Spain. This led the Americans to treat with England secretly.

By the treaty the independence of the United States was acknowledged and Great Britain gave up all control over the region east of the Mississippi, south of the Great Lakes, and north of Florida. The Mississippi was to be open to both American and British shipping, and the Americans were to retain their fishing rights off Newfoundland. The United States was to see that British merchants were paid debts incurred prior to the Revolution, and was to recommend to the states that Loyalists be dealt with leniently. The British were to pay for slaves carried away during the war and were to evacuate the military posts in the northwest.

The terms of the Treaty of Paris were never fully carried out by either side. This is particularly true of those pertaining to the treatment of Loyalists and to the payment for slaves confiscated. The British continued for a number of years to hold, on one pretext or another, the forts on the Great Lakes.

Shortly after the signing of the treaty, Washington disbanded his forces, resigned his commission, and after a touching farewell to his officers, retired to private life on his estate at Mount Vernon.

GOVERNMENT UNDER THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

Soon after the Declaration of Independence, the Second Continental Congress had set to work to devise a system of government to take the place of the British colonial governments of the various colonies. A document embodying what are known as the Articles of Confederation was at length drawn up and sent to the states for ratification. Due to delays incident to the war, it was not until 1781 that ratification by the states was completed. A new Congress assumed control in that year under the provisions of the Articles.

Both in personnel and powers the new Congress was inferior to the Second Continental Congress that had conducted the war. The Articles of Confederation soon proved deplorably inadequate for the government of the country, since they made little provision for the enforcement of such laws as were passed by the Congress. Such a constitution might have served to hold the states together in the face of their common danger from Great Britain, but now that the war

was over the states reverted to their former jealousy and distrust of each other. Each state resented control or interference of any kind by the national government. Able men of the time preferred to serve in public office in their own states rather than in the Congress of the nation. It seemed not improbable that what was meant to be a union of thirteen states would become thirteen separate nations, which would be fit subjects for absorption by European governments. For the seven years of the Revolution production had been almost at a stand-still throughout the country. Now, a few years after the cessation of hostilities, the affairs of the country were rapidly drifting toward anarchy.

Lack of a stable national government was the chief cause of the unrest that was manifested in all classes. As a whole, the Articles of Confederation were extremely defective. They provided for but one branch of government, the legislative branch. There was no Supreme Court to interpret the laws and no executive department to enforce them. There was but one house of Congress, in which the states had equal representation without regard to population, size, or wealth. Congress had no power to regulate commerce between states; each state could lay its own tariff on imported goods from either foreign countries or from other states; a citizen could have no direct relation toward the federal government; each state could coin its own money, or issue paper money; Congress had no power over taxation, and could only requisition the states for money necessary for the expenses of the government. This last was the most glaring fault in the Articles. Some of the states refused to contribute their part of the apportionment, and Congress had no power to force them to do so.

The national treasury was in a depleted condition; a heavy war debt hung over the nation; the soldiers were clamoring for their back pay, and, in fact, a number of them marched in a body to Philadelphia to demand redress of their grievances at the point of the bayonet, whereupon Congress fled to New Jersey. In Europe the United States was losing much of the high opinion in which it had been held during the war; its credit was exhausted and its representatives were being treated with half-veiled contempt.

In 1786 occurred an uprising in Massachusetts of about two thousand laborers and farmers led by Daniel Shay, an ex-officer of the Continental Army. Shay marched to Springfield, stopped the court proceeding at which men were being convicted and imprisoned for debt, and seized the government arsenal. On the coming of troops from Boston, the band dispersed. Shay's Rebellion is important in that it typifies conditions throughout the country.

Congress under the Articles of Confederation has but one important piece of constructive legislation to its credit. In 1787 the Northwest Ordinance was drawn up for the government of the national territory north of the Ohio. The act of organization placed the territory under temporary control of a governor and three judges. Citizens of the territory were to enjoy political and religious liberty; public land was set apart, the proceeds from the sale of which were to be used for the establishment of public education; and slavery was to be forever excluded from the region. Eventually from three to five states were to be made out of the territory. The restriction of slavery in the Northwest Territory established an important precedent for future action by the national government, and the encouraging of public education was characteristic of the progressive spirit of the new west. This ordinance has been rightfully considered an admirable bit of legislation.

THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The defects in the Articles of Confederation were clearly apparent to the more brilliant and far-sighted statesmen of the time, who were apprehensive for the future of the country. All were agreed that definite steps must be taken to form a "more perfect union," but as to the manner in which these reforms were to be carried out, there were but vague theories presented with doubt and misgiving.

In 1785 representatives of Maryland and Virginia met at Washington's home at Mount Vernon to adjust a number of points of commercial friction between the two states. Adjustment of commercial relations appeared to be a subject of such interest to the states as a whole that the little conference at Mount Vernon resulted in a call being sent out to the governments of all the states to send representatives to a convention to be held at Annapolis in 1786 for the purpose of considering changes in the Articles of Confederation.

The Annapolis Convention met in September, 1786, with but twelve delegates present, representing but five states. Neither New England nor the far South had responded. Being too small to represent the country at large, the body of delegates did little except to send out a more urgent call for a second convention to be held at Philadelphia the following year. Since there was considerable doubt as to the attitude of people in the various states, Congress, in session at Philadelphia, hesitated for a time before sanctioning the movement. The enthusiastic support of the call, given by Washington, Madison, and men of like calibre, at length was followed by the leaders in the different states.

The Philadelphia convention met in 1787 in Independence Hall, with representatives from every state except Rhode Island. Among the delegates were some of the ablest men in American history. There were Washington, Madison, Franklin, Hamilton, Randolph, Robert Morris, Rutledge, C. C. Pinckney, Rufus King, and others of almost equal note. Washington was chosen chairman.

From the very opening of the convention there was division of opinion as to how best to accomplish the work for which the delegates had assembled. Many counseled moderation and favored a mild revision of the Articles of Confederation. Others, more radical, demanded the casting aside of the Articles and the formation of an entirely new constitution built up on basically different lines. A number of different plans were introduced by delegates from the various sections. There was the "Virginia Plan," providing for complete change in government, for the formation of a federal union, with legislative, executive and judicial branches of government. Less radical was the "New Jersey Plan," favored by the smaller states, and providing for mere amendment of the Articles to give enlarged powers to Congress. Then there were extremists on both sides. Alexander Hamilton desired a form of government that provided for what was practically a monarchy, with public officials holding office for life.

So bitter were the long debates that the convention was on the point of breaking up a number of times. Very early in the session it became apparent that little could be accomplished except through compromise. At length the Virginia Plan was agreed upon as a basis of the new constitution. From this point on, the story of the proceedings is of one compromise after another. Following are several of the more important.

When it was proposed that representation in Congress be apportioned according to the population or wealth of each state, the smaller states protested bitterly. Finally it was agreed that the legislative branch of the government should consist of two houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives. In the former the states were to have equal representation, two senators from each state; in the latter, the states were to have representation in proportion to their populations.

The second compromise was between the free and the slave states. When it came to the question of representation in the House, the Southern states strongly insisted that their negroes should be counted with the whites. The North was unyielding in its opposition to such a count. At length it was agreed to count three-fifths of the slaves, and thus the matter was amicably settled.

The South at first opposed giving Congress control of commerce, but at last yielded to New England on condition that no export tax be

laid. The question of the slave trade was compromised by permitting such trade until 1808, after which date no more slaves were to be brought in from Africa or elsewhere.

A Supreme Court was created, with minor federal courts; provision was made for a chief executive; the powers of the various departments were defined; and terms of office fixed for officials, with the modes of election of such officials.

The actual writing of the Constitution was chiefly the work of James Madison, who, more than any other one man, is responsible for the document. It must be remembered that the Constitutional Convention consisted only of accredited representatives from various states and that it had no power in itself to change the form of government of the country. The Convention could only provide a plan of government and submit to the states, which were then left to decide whether or not it should be put into effect in place of the Articles of Confederation. Had the states declined to ratify the work of their representatives at Philadelphia, the work of the Convention would have been in vain.

The process of ratification of the Constitution was necessarily slow. There immediately sprang into being two political parties. Those favoring the Constitution were known as Federalists, those opposed to it as Anti-Federalists. The point advanced by the Anti-Federalist was that the Constitution endangered the liberties of the people in that it provided a too strong and centralized government. On this ground it was opposed by such men as Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, John Hancock and other influential citizens. Delaware was the first state to ratify. She was followed by Pennsylvania and New Jersey. At length New York, Massachusetts and Virginia approved the Constitution, and were in turn followed by most of the less influential states. Several states hesitated to ratify until assurance was given them that desired amendments would be made. North Carolina and Rhode Island did not ratify until after the new government had been organized. The Constitution went into effect in 1789. Washington was unanimously chosen President by the first Electoral College.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

1789-1797.

March 4, 1789, had been chosen as the day for the assembling of the new Congress under the Constitution, but by that date hardly a third of the newly elected Senators and Representatives had reached New York, which was to be the temporary capital. Bad roads, the uncertainty of travel facilities, and the late date of the elections, all served to delay the members of Congress. The month of April had

nearly elapsed before Congress completed its organization, counted the electoral vote, and was ready to participate in the ceremony of inaugurating the new President.

Washington's journey from Virginia to New York was one round of ovation. Everywhere he was met with the greatest enthusiasm and, on reaching the city, he was greeted with an outburst of welcome from the very hearts of the people. On April 30, the new President of the United States was inaugurated at Federal Hall. Washington took the oath of office in the presence of thousands of citizens, but retired indoors to deliver his inaugural address. Throughout the ceremonies he exhibited the greatest dignity in bearing, as befitted one intrusted with the grave responsibilities attendant on launching a new government.

In choosing his first Cabinet he appointed men of unimpeachable character and motive. Jefferson became Secretary of State; Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury; General Knox, Secretary of War; and Edward Randolph, Attorney-General. During Washington's administration there were but four members of the Cabinet. Additional offices have been created from time to time until today we have ten Cabinet officers. A Supreme Court was organized with John Jay as its first Chief Justice.

Some of the business confronting the first Congress of the United States was the creation of the various executive and judicial departments, the fixing of salaries, the making of appropriations for running the government, the enacting of laws taxing foreign goods and certain domestic commodities, the paying of the interest on the national debt, the subduing of hostile Indian tribes in the Northwest, the taking of a census of the inhabitants, the organization of a diplomatic corps, and numerous other tasks requiring wisdom, tact, patience and zeal on the part of Congress.

Due to the new government's urgent need of funds, Alexander Hamilton occupied the center of the stage in Washington's first administration. As Secretary of the Treasury, his genius for handling financial problems was of almost inestimable value to the nation. In a very few years he had established the United States on a firm financial footing both at home and abroad. His work may be mentioned under four headings: (1) The securing of excise and import tax legislation; (2) Influencing the states to agree to federal assumption of state debts; (3) The funding of the national debt, or arranging it in the form of interest bearing bonds maturing at specified dates; (4) The establishing of a United States Bank to handle government funds, so organized that the government owned part of its capital stock while private individuals controlled the remainder of the stock.

The federal government's assumption of state debts was in line with Hamilton's idea of a strong centralized government. He felt that if the people of the states could be made to look to the national government for the payment of money owed to the citizens by the state, it would secure a widespread interest in the welfare and success of the new government and at the same time subordinate the states. A number of states were slow to agree to the plan, particularly in the South, since some of them had already paid off a portion of their debt. A deal was finally made between Hamilton and Jefferson whereby Jefferson agreed to lend his influence in the South to secure assumption, in return for Hamilton's influence toward having the new capital placed in the South. Thus the success of the assumption measure was assured, since Hamilton largely controlled the Federalist party and Jefferson was leader of the Anti-Federalists, or Democratic-Republicans, as they were soon called.

Even before the assumption of state debts the debt of the United States was over fifty million dollars. Twelve millions of this was owed to foreign countries, particularly France. An annual revenue of more than four million dollars was needed to pay the interest on this debt. Hamilton met this need by securing a tariff on imported goods averaging less than ten per cent. An internal revenue or excise tax was also placed on distilled liquors to provide additional funds for meeting the expenses of the government. The United States Bank, chartered for a period of ten years with a capital of \$10,000,000, was to supply the people with a circulating medium, was to have the privilege of holding on deposit the funds of the United States, and was to manage all government loans and lend money to the government in emergency.

The so-called "Whisky Rebellion," important because it was the first serious test of the new government's power to enforce its laws, occurred in 1794 in western Pennsylvania. The internal tax on liquor precipitated rioting on the part of those who had been accustomed to market their grain products in the form of whisky. The government, under the Confederation, would have been powerless to collect the revenues, but the President determined to use force. In a short time 15,000 militia were marching toward the scene of the trouble. On the approach of the soldiers the rioters dispersed and henceforth the internal revenue was collected without difficulty.

Washington's first administration was marked by serious Indian troubles in the Northwest Territory. It was here that both General Harmer and General St. Clair were defeated and their armies cut to pieces. The hostility of the savages was retarding the work of settling in the territory, so at length Washington sent General Anthony Wayne

to punish them. Wayne met the Indians in 1793 at Fallen Timbers on the Maumee. Here a decisive battle broke the Indian power and freed Ohio from danger.

The French Revolution naturally made a profound impression on American politics. The close relationship between France and America during the Revolution and the natural sympathy felt by Americans toward the French in their efforts to throw off the yoke of monarchy, caused the people of the United States to take a deep interest in affairs abroad. The Federalists had little sympathy with the violence of the French movement, but Jefferson and his following showed the greatest enthusiasm and were desirous that the United States give actual aid to the French Republic in its struggle with England. Washington very rightfully believed that America should keep free of European entanglements at that time. The attitude of the administration evoked a storm of abuse and bitter criticism on the part of adherents of the "French Party." Citizen Genet, the French Republic's first minister to the United States, failed to gain an insight into the real temper of the American people, so taking his cue from the radical Pro-French with whom he came in contact, he openly criticised the President for his Proclamation of Neutrality. What was worse, he disregarded the neutrality of the country and despite the protest of the government, used American harbors in which to fit out privateers to prey on British commerce. At length his conduct became so unbearable that the government insisted that France recall him. This was done and in a short time the agitation in favor of the French died out.

During this administration our strained relations with Great Britain provided another source of worry for the President. Great Britain's revival of the Rule of 1756 seriously interfered with our trade with the French West Indies; promises made in the Treaty of Paris had not been carried out by the British; the Algerian pirates were being incited to prey on American commerce; and the British were, with impunity, impressing American seamen on the high seas. Irritation from these sources was rapidly becoming unendurable. In an effort to prevent war between the two countries, Washington sent John Jay to England with instructions to secure a treaty if possible that would alleviate these conditions. The best that Jay could do was to secure a modification of the British ruling in regard to West Indian trade and to secure the evacuation of the forts in the Northwest. No satisfaction could be obtained on such important questions as impressment and kindred topics. When Jay, in 1795, returned with the treaty a storm of denunciation greeted him. American disappointment at the meagre results obtained centered on the heads of Jay and the President. Washington, calm in the face of criticism, realized

that a rejection of the treaty would mean war, so used his personal influence with Congress to secure ratification. Much of the bitterness engendered by the treaty was inspired by the Republican opponents of the Federalists.

The same year that war with England was averted by Jay's Treaty the President sent Thomas Pinckney as special envoy to the Court of Spain. He there negotiated a treaty by which Spain permitted us to make commercial use of the Mississippi River and the port of New Orleans. This agreement gave promise of being highly beneficial to the settlers west of the Allegheny Mountains who had no highway to market other than the Mississippi and its tributaries.

Eli Whitney's cotton gin, invented during Washington's administration, had important effect on the institution of slavery in this country. This labor-saving device made cotton growing highly profitable and thus gave new life to slavery, which had showed signs of slowly dying out. From a feeling that slavery was a sort of necessary evil, to be patiently tolerated, the South soon developed the conviction that the institution was the basis of the economical and industrial prosperity of the section.

Washington refused to consider a third term in office and after delivering a farewell address to the people of America, retired to Mount Vernon. His administrations, as a whole, had been wonderfully successful, considering the immensity of the task that had confronted him.

JOHN ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION. 1797-1801.

By the end of Washington's second administration the Anti-Federalist element had grown, under the able leadership of Thomas Jefferson, into a strong political party calling itself the Democratic-Republican party, or Republican party. New England remained the stronghold of Federalism. The election of 1796 was a bitter party struggle in which John Adams, Washington's Vice-President, won over Jefferson, the Republican candidate, by the narrow margin of three electoral votes.

No sooner had a temporary settlement of our difficulties with England been effected by the Jay Treaty than the United States found itself involved in trouble with the French government. It now fell to the lot of Adams to meet the complications arising from the bitter resentment felt in France over Jay's Treaty, which had given to England privileges denied to France. Again the French began to seize American ships. When C. C. Pinckney, Adams' minister to France, arrived in Paris, he not only was refused recognition by the French

government, but was even warned to leave the country. Adams still hoped to avoid war and sent Marshall and Gerry to join Pinckney. In a few weeks came the astounding news that the French Directory, not content with refusing to receive our new envoys, had unofficially informed them that if they wanted a treaty they must furnish a quarter of a million dollars as a bribe for the pockets of the French government officials. In the dispatches the three Frenchmen who had made this outrageous demand upon our commissioners were designated "X., Y. and Z." Consequently, the incident is frequently known as the "X. Y. Z. Affair."

When Adams laid the matter of the "X. Y. Z. Affair" before Congress in 1798, preparations for war were immediately begun. While Congress did not actually declare war on France, the building of warships was begun, the Navy Department was organized, privateers were commissioned, and orders were given for the capture of French cruisers and merchantmen. The behavior of France had the effect of discrediting the Republican party in this country, at least for a time, and Adams and the Federalists reached the height of their popularity. This popularity was short-lived, however, for the Federalists used their advantage to rush through Congress several pieces of anti-Republican legislation: (1) a Naturalization Act, increasing the required residence for naturalization from five years to fourteen years; (2) the Alien Acts, allowing the President to expel aliens from the country during either peace or war; (3) a Sedition Act, making it a criminal offense to write or speak seditiously against the government, or Congress, or the President.

The Republicans were furious at such legislation, rightfully considering it aimed at their party. The Naturalization and the Alien Acts would indirectly affect the power and growth of the party while the Sedition Act, if enforced, would effectually muzzle the Republican press and its followers while permitting the Federalists to indulge in any amount of vilification of their opponents. Jefferson, Madison, and other leaders of the Republican party immediately set to work to take advantage of the rash move on the part of the Federalists. Public sentiment was skillfully aroused and a storm of bitter denunciation was hurled against Adams and his supporters in Congress. The famous Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were passed, drawn up by Madison and Jefferson respectively. These resolutions attacked the acts on the ground that they were unconstitutional and a menace to the liberties of the people. Such widespread attention was given the resolutions that eventually the unpopular acts brought about the downfall of the Federalist party.

In the meantime hostilities with France continued, confined chiefly to attacks on the sea. The American frigate *Constellation* captured the French frigate *Vengeance*; the *Boston* took the *Berceau*; and a number of merchant ships were taken on both sides. About this time Napoleon succeeded in overthrowing the corrupt French government and made himself dictator of France. He was shrewd enough to see that he could gain nothing by war with America and hence signified his willingness to come to an agreement with the United States. President Adams very patriotically disregarded the wishes of his party and abruptly ended the war. Early in 1801 a treaty was concluded with France.

The Alien and Sedition Acts furnished excellent campaign material for the Republicans in the election of 1800. Aided by dissensions among the Federalist leaders, the Republican candidates, Jefferson and Burr, carried the Presidential election and secured a majority in the new Congress. The Federalists were crushed by the results of the election and the closing days of Adams' administration are marked by a petty and spiteful party spirit. Having lost control of the executive and legislative branches of the government, they tried desperately to embarrass the incoming President. Wherever possible Adams appointed staunch Federalists and even created offices for members of his party, particularly in the judicial department. The latter appointees are known as "midnight" judges from the fact that Adams spent his last evening in office in signing their commissions.

Despite the ungracious exit of the Federalists in 1801, the party while in power did, perhaps, accomplish as much for the lasting benefit of the nation as has any subsequent party. The Federalist party has to its credit a long list of achievements: Peace secured with England, France and Spain; credit restored abroad and at home; a navy created; domestic manufactures begun and foreign trade developed. Federalists could well point with pride to the constructive ability of such men as Washington, Adams, Hamilton, Jay, Pinckney, and many other lesser lights.

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

1801-1809.

With the inauguration of Thomas Jefferson begins a period of Republican supremacy. Soon after the beginning of Washington's term of office the seat of government was moved from New York to Philadelphia. Philadelphia remained the capital for several years while Washington, the new capital, was being built. In 1800 the seat of government was moved to the new city on the Potomac. Thus Jef-

erson, who was inaugurated in 1801, was the first President to take the oath of office in the present capital.

Immediately after the election of 1800, Aaron Burr claimed the Presidency on a technicality arising from the fact that since he had received the same number of electoral votes as Jefferson, he had the right under the Constitution of having the election decided in the House of Representatives. The intentions of the voters were obviously to vote for Jefferson for the Presidency and Burr for the Vice-Presidency. This defect in the Constitution, however, enabled Burr to carry the election into Congress. The House of Representatives fortunately did not see fit to oppose what was plainly the will of the people of the country and chose Jefferson President. In order to prevent a recurrence of such an affair, in 1804 the states ratified the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution, which provided that the President and Vice-President be voted for separately.

The Federalist and Republican policies may be contrasted as follows. The Federalists believed in a strong centralized government, to which the governments of the states should be subordinate; the Republicans believed that the federal government should confine itself to managing our dealings with foreign nations, and should interfere as little as possible with the governing of the several states. The Federalists believed that the affairs of government should be conducted by the aristocratic and highly educated few; the Republicans preferred to trust the government to the good sense and patriotism of the common people. Federalists believed in maintaining a strong army and navy; Jefferson and his followers preferred to reduce both greatly. The Federalist leaders preferred to pay off the national debt very slowly in order that its interest bearing bonds might serve as a means of investment for the people; Jefferson proposed to use the public revenue to wipe out the national debt rapidly. Federalists stood for internal improvements such as highways, etc., at federal expense; the Republicans believed that each state should be left to make its own improvements at state expense. In short, the Federalists favored a loose construction, or interpretation of the Constitution, whereby the national government reserved to itself all powers not expressly given to the states; the Republicans favored a policy of strict construction, or literal interpretation of the Constitution, whereby the several states should retain all powers not expressly given to the national government by the Constitution.

Jefferson had hardly been inaugurated, however, before he was forced to abandon some of the most cherished of Republican principles. In spite of the fact that the President was willing to go to almost any

length to maintain peace, during the years from 1801 to 1805 conditions in the Mediterranean were intolerable. The pirates of Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli were capturing American merchant ships and enslaving their crews with impunity. Tripoli, in hope of obtaining a satisfactory tribute, finally declared war on the United States. Jefferson was then forced to use what little navy he had. For several years American squadrons fought the Tripolitan pirates until they finally ceased to molest American commerce. Perhaps the most noted single exploit of these Barbary wars was Stephen Decatur's burning of the frigate *Philadelphia*, which had fallen into the hands of the Tripolitans. European nations had preferred to pay tribute to the pirates to insure the safety of their shipping rather than undertake to wipe out the menace by force. There is no doubt that our successful punitive expeditions to the Barbary countries had much to do with the increased prestige and respect accorded the United States abroad.

The most important single event of Jefferson's administration was his purchase of Louisiana territory from France. At the close of the French and Indian War France had ceded to her ally Spain this immense tract of land, roughly triangular in shape and extending from the west bank of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains. During Washington's administration the United States, by the Pinckney Treaty, had acquired the right to unrestricted use of the Mississippi river. In 1800, by the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, France again acquired Louisiana. It was now evident that the river was to be blocked to American trade. Jefferson, realizing the importance of acquiring the territory to maintain an outlet for trade from the states west of the mountains, cast aside his policy of strict adherence to the letter of the Constitution and began at once to negotiate with Napoleon for the purchase of the region. Having secured an appropriation from Congress, Jefferson sent James Monroe to Paris to aid our minister Livingston in the negotiation. At first Napoleon was loath to sell and rejected all offers. However, when news came to him of the defeat of a large French fleet in the West Indies by the British he suddenly changed his mind and accepted \$15,000,000 for Louisiana. It is probable that he feared losing the territory by conquest on the part of the British if he delayed disposing of it. Furthermore, he was about to go to war against the allied nations of Europe and no doubt needed the purchase money to strengthen his armies for the struggle. Thus the territory of the United States was doubled at one stroke in 1803.

A few weeks after the cession of Louisiana Jefferson commissioned Captain Merriwether Lewis to explore the new territory as the head

of a scientific expedition. Associated with Lewis was Captain William Clark, a younger brother of the famous George Rogers Clark. With a company of about forty men Lewis and Clark in 1804 made their way up the Missouri river and penetrated far into the Northwest. The party wintered at the headquarters of the Missouri and the following spring portaged across the Great Divide, and, traversing an unexplored region, finally reached a tributary of the Columbia. This they followed for hundreds of miles and eventually reached the mouth of the great river, near Astoria, where an American trading post was soon established. This remarkable expedition was an important factor in our controversy with England over our claim to the Oregon country many years later, since Lewis and Clark were the first white men to traverse that region.

The purchase of Louisiana greatly strengthened the national government in its relation to the state, for Congress immediately assumed and exercised control over this vast territory, greater by far than all of the original states combined.

Strange to say, the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States did much to bring about the downfall of one of the foremost figures in public life at that time. Aaron Burr, who had contested with Jefferson for the Presidency in 1800, in 1804 shot and killed Alexander Hamilton, the great Federalist leader, his bitterest enemy. Following this fatal duel, Burr fled to the West to escape the just wrath of Hamilton's friends. While sojourning in the Ohio country, he seems to have conceived the scheme of setting up an independent state in the Southwest with New Orleans as its capital. Scores were interested in his plans, even General Wilkinson of the United States Army. Burr's plans were well laid but despite all precautions word of the conspiracy eventually reached President Jefferson. The setting up of a government by force of arms in territory belonging to the United States would constitute an act of treason, so Jefferson ordered Burr's arrest when he thought he had secured sufficient evidence upon which to convict him. Wilkinson, Burr's accomplice, in order to save himself, basely deserted his leader and testified against him at the ensuing trial at which Chief Justice Marshall presided. To Jefferson's disappointment, the jury failed to convict Burr, although he stood condemned by the country at large. But no verdict of guilty was needed to complete Burr's ruin. A political and social outcast he remained until his death.

In Jefferson's second administration (1807) occurred the building of the first successful steamboat. Robert Fulton launched the Clermont in the Hudson at New York, made a successful trial trip

to Albany and return, and thereafter his boats made regular trips, maintaining a much faster schedule than did the sailing packets of those days. Within two years scores of steamboats traversed the waterways of our country. No other factor contributed as much to the development of the new West, or the region of the Mississippi Valley and the Great Lakes, as did the steamboat. A trip from the Ohio to New Orleans was now a matter of days rather than of weeks as formerly. Almost every river of the West provided a smooth highway to markets now readily accessible for the settlers that emigrated by thousands to the rich lands beyond the mountains. Freight rates that had been practically prohibitive under cruder methods of transportation now fell rapidly, bringing prosperity to every section of the West.

Jefferson's second administration is marked by the beginning of the difficulties with foreign nations that led slowly but surely to the War of 1812. With a renewal of the European wars, interference with neutral trade began again. Our ships were seized on one pretext or another and their cargoes confiscated. Our sailors were impressed on the pretext that they were deserters from foreign navies when, in fact, many of them were born in this country. The chief offenders in this respect were England and France, particularly England. With the expiration of Jay's Treaty, the United States was left with no commercial treaty with England, nor could she obtain one. A number of arbitrary rulings were made by the British aimed for the most part at American commerce. Affairs reached a crisis about 1807. England by her Orders in Council set up a "paper" blockade of the French coast. Napoleon retaliated in his famous Berlin and Milan Decrees declaring the whole British Isles in a state of blockade. The effect of these acts was practically to ruin American commerce. Even on the high seas American ships were seized by the French if going to English ports and by the British if bound for French ports.

With a navy wholly inadequate for its needs, the United States seemed helpless in the face of these indignities. Affairs reached a crisis in 1807 when the British frigate *Leopard* attacked the United States ship *Chesapeake* off the Virginia capes, disabled her and seized a number of American citizens. Action of some kind on the part of our government was now imperative. War would drive off the seas what remained of American commerce, so Jefferson determined to bring England and France to terms by cutting off their sources of raw materials. In the latter part of 1807, the Embargo Act was passed, prohibiting the sailing of American ships for foreign ports. Jefferson had, however, overestimated the effect that this economic weapon ex-

erted on Europe. The Embargo Act merely served as a boomerang to complete the destruction of the New England ship owners' prosperity. Ships and cargoes now rotted at the wharves, and the New England States were incensed almost to the point of open rebellion. After a year of the embargo smuggling had increased to such an extent that Congress repealed the act, and substituted for it the Non-Intercourse Act, which permitted trade with all foreign countries except Great Britain and France. This Act relieved to some extent the hardships endured by the shipping class.

In the election of 1808 James Madison, Jefferson's Secretary of State, won an overwhelming victory over C. C. Pinckney, the Federalist candidate.

JAMES MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

1809-1817.

When James Madison entered the Presidency in 1809, he found that the temper of the American people, with the exception of the New Englanders, favored war to regain and maintain our commercial rights at sea. While both France and England had preyed on American commerce, feeling in this country was strongest against the latter. Furthermore, it was felt that the British in Canada were, to a great extent, responsible for the Indian disorders on our western frontiers. In 1811 Tecumseh, a noted Indian chief, had about completed a federation of all the tribes east of the Mississippi, when General William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory, forced the issue by attacking a large force of Indians led by The Prophet, a brother of Tecumseh. In this battle, known as the battle of Tippecanoe, Harrison completely defeated the savages and thus broke up Tecumseh's plan of uniting the tribes.

In the South Fort Mims was captured by the Creek Indians and nearly 500 whites were massacred. A little later troops under General Andrew Jackson practically crushed the Indian power in this region. Whether or not the British had directly influenced the Indians to rise against the whites, the fact remains that the people of the United States believed that such was the case, and resentment against the British grew stronger.

In May, 1811, the American frigate *President* was fired upon by the British sloop of war *Little Belt*. An engagement followed, which resulted in the surrender of the *Little Belt*. This affair was regarded as a fitting revenge for the Chesapeake and Leopard indignity of 1807.

The new Congress which met in December, 1811, chose Henry Clay, of Kentucky, Speaker of the House. A man of the West, who

had little respect for the timidity exhibited in the East, he at once began to organize Congress on a basis for war. In June, 1812, war was declared against Great Britain. The cause of the war may be summed up as follows: (1) The activities of British warships along our coasts; (2) the capture of nearly a thousand American vessels since 1803; (3) blockades, etc., under the British Orders in Council; (4) impressment of American seamen; and (5) the instigating of Indian hostilities.

THE WAR OF 1812.

The United States government in 1812 was ill-fitted to carry on war against a first-class power. Thanks to the policy of Jefferson, our navy consisted of less than a score of warships, all of which were small and poorly outfitted. England had over a thousand war vessels, of which a considerable part were available for service against the United States. Our regular army was insignificant in size and not very efficient at that. Raw state militia, led by untrained and inexperienced officers, was depended upon to augment the regular forces. A large element in the Federalist party was openly hostile to the aims of the Administration, and the New England States were none too loyal.

The American plan of the war was to invade Canada via the Great Lakes and thus strike at Great Britain at her most vulnerable point. At the same time the navy, assisted by privateers, was to inflict all possible damage upon British commerce at sea.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR DURING 1812.

I. Hostilities on the Great Lakes.

- (a) General William Hull surrendered Detroit and all Michigan Territory to the British general Brock (August). This loss was a crushing blow to the Americans, since it enabled the British to invade the country south of Lake Erie and thus to protect Canada on the west.
- (b) Battle of Queenstown Heights (Oct.) An American force under General Van Rensselaer attempted to invade Canada by way of the Niagara river. Due to a refusal of the New York State militia to leave the state, several hundred men who had already crossed the river received no support and fell easy prey to General Sheaffe, who had succeeded General Brock in command of the British.
- (c) Americans under General Jacob Brown defeated a small force of British who had crossed the St. Lawrence near Ogdensburg, New York. This slight victory was the only success scored by the American army during the year 1812

II. *Hostilities on the Sea.*

- (a) The United States frigate *Essex*, Capt. David Porter, captured the British sloop of war *Alert*.
- (b) The American frigate *Constitution*, Capt. Isaac Hull, captured the *Guerriere*, Capt. Dacres. This engagement, which occurred near the Gul of St. Lawrence, is one of the most famous of the war.
- (c) The *Wasp*, Capt. Jacob Jones, captured the British ship *Frolic*, both vessels being taken on the same day, however, by the British frigate, *Poictiers*.
- (d) The United States, Capt. Stephen Decatur, took the enemy's frigate *Macedonian*.
- (e) The *Constitution* again put to sea, this time under Capt. Bainbridge, and sank the British ship *Java*. This completes a list of almost unbroken victories for the ships of our navy during the year 1812. These achievements at sea helped to offset the reverses suffered on land during this year. Moreover, American privateers, far more numerous than the ships of the navy, were scouring the seven seas inflicting terrific damage to Great Britain's merchant marine.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR DURING 1813.

I. *Hostilities on the Great Lakes.*

- (a) The year 1813 opens with the American forces still striving to gain a foothold in Canada. In April General Dearborn captured York, now Toronto.
- (b) Attempting to advance down the St. Lawrence upon Montreal, General Wilkinson suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the British at Chrystler's Field.
- (c) Battle of Lake Erie. This was by far the most important event of the year. At the beginning of the war Oliver Hazard Perry, a young naval officer, was given the task of building a fleet on Lake Erie in order to wrest control of the lake from the British who had in the region a fleet under command of Commodore Barclay. Perry completed his fleet in the summer of 1813 and immediately set out in search of the British. In September the two fleets met at Put-in-Bay in northern Ohio. After a sharp fight Perry captured the enemy's entire force. This victory broke the British line of communication with Canada and compelled their army under General Proctor, operating south of Lake Erie, to retire hurriedly into Canada.

- (d) In the meantime several engagements had been fought south of Lake Erie. A thousand Kentuckians under General Winchester were defeated on the River Raisin by General Proctor. Proctor then allowed his Indian allies to massacre many of the wounded and captured.
- (e) Proctor now attempted to take Fort Stephenson, which was defended by Major Croghan with part of General Harrison's army. Croghan used his single piece of artillery so effectively that the British drew off after having suffered severe losses.
- (f) Harrison with the main American force remained at Fort Meigs. After Perry's victory on Lake Erie he broke camp and set out in pursuit of General Proctor, who had abandoned Michigan Territory to flee into Canada. Having been ferried across the lake, Harrison's force overtook Proctor on the River Thames in Ontario. Here Harrison won a notable victory in what is known as the battle of the Thames. This engagement settled the matter of our recovery of Detroit and Michigan Territory and closed the campaign in the West.

II. *Hostilities on the Sea.*

- (a) The Hornet, Lieut. James Lawrence, sank the British ship Peacock.
- (b) The ill-fated Chesapeake, commanded also by Lawrence, was defeated off Boston harbor by the British ship Shannon, Capt. Broke. Lawrence, more brave than discreet, had engaged the Shannon when the Chesapeake had but half a crew and most of them untrained.
- (c) The American ship Argus, Capt. Allen, was taken while cruising in the English channel by the English brig Pelican.
- (d) The American brig Enterprise captured the British ship Boxer.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR DURING 1814.

I. *Hostilities on Land.*

- (a) In July, 1814, General Scott with part of General Brown's force repulsed a British force under General Riall near Niagara Falls.

- (b) A few days later the two forces again engaged, this time at Lundy's Lane within sound of Niagara. Both armies suffered heavy losses, and after fighting far into the night, each withdrew without having gained any material advantage. L
- (c) General Drummond, with part of the British force, now attempted to storm Fort Erie, but was easily repulsed.
- (d) After two years of fruitless effort on the part of the American forces to invade Canada, they now in turn had to defend the United States from invasion. In order to establish a military base in New York state, the British determined to send a strong force in by way of the Richelieu river and Lake Champlain. Should they be successful, New York and the New England cities would be menaced seriously.
- (e) Having advanced as far as Lake Champlain, the British progress was decisively checked. Sir George Prevost here suffered a double defeat. His fleet under Commodore Downie surrendered to Commodore McDonough, who commanded an American flotilla; his army was repulsed at Plattsburg by Generals Macomb and Izard.
- (f) While these events were transpiring on the northern border, the country around Chesapeake bay had fallen prey to the enemy. A lull in the Napoleonic wars made a large force of British available for direct attack on our Atlantic coast. Under General Ross an expedition reached the Chesapeake in August of 1814. The British found the city of Washington practically unprotected. General Winder, it is true, made an attempt to defend the city with a few hundred men, but his little force was badly beaten at Bladensburg. So suddenly did the enemy enter the city that the President himself barely escaped. After burning the capitol and other public buildings, the British retired to the fleet in the Chesapeake.
- (g) Ross now turned his attention to the capture of Baltimore. Having sailed up the bay, he landed his forces at the mouth of the Patapsco and began his march upon the city. A large fleet under Admiral Cochrane was to take Fort McHenry and cooperate in the attack on the city. At North Point Ross met the Maryland militia under General Stricker. The Americans were being slowly driven back, when Ross fell, mortally wounded. Meanwhile, the fleet had failed to pass the guns of Fort McHenry, which was put-

ting up a spirited defense of the city. It was during the bombardment of the fort that Francis Scott Key was inspired to write "The Star-Spangled Banner." The failure of the water attack and the death of Ross now caused the enemy to abandon their plan, and soon after this they left the Chesapeake.

- (h) Early in 1814 commissioners had been sent to Europe in response to Great Britain's peace overtures. In December, 1914, by the Treaty of Ghent, peace was again restored between the two countries. Before the news reached America, however, the greatest battle of the war was fought. In the fall of 1814, General Pakenham was sent with a strong force to seize New Orleans, the key to the Mississippi Valley. The purpose of the enemy was to paralyze American trade in the region, and to hold Louisiana for exchange at the close of the war for territory in the Northwest.

General Andrew Jackson, commander of the American forces south of the Ohio, hastily prepared to defend New Orleans. With a few thousand backwoodsmen and militia he took up his position below the city and there awaited the onslaught of Pakenham's veterans. After a few days of artillery action the British advanced to the assault early in January, 1915. To the surprise of the British, Jackson repulsed the attack with terrible slaughter. Over two thousand of the invaders were killed, wounded and captured, while Jackson lost less than fifty in the entire fighting. Pakenham was killed and his successor lost no time in retiring from Louisiana.

II. *Hostilities on the Sea During 1814.*

By 1814 American aggression at sea was confined chiefly to the work of privateers. The enormous superiority in number of the ships of the British navy had resulted in most of the ships of the American navy being bottled up in the harbors along the Atlantic coast, or in their having fallen into the hands of the enemy. Several navy yards had been seized and destroyed by the British raiders. Still the privateers, avoiding the enemy's warships, continued to harass British merchantmen. In all nearly 2,000 British ships fell to American seamen. The most notable event on the sea during the year was the loss of the *Essex*, Captain David Porter. She was taken in the neutral harbor of Valparaiso after a desperate engagement with two British ships, the *Phoebe* and the *Cherub*.

THE TREATY OF GHENT.

After the heavy loss sustained at sea by the British commercial class, it is little wonder that such pressure was brought to bear on the government to stop the war that an agreement favorable to the United States was reached by the Treaty of Ghent. This treaty is more noted for what it failed definitely to stipulate than for its actual terms. The settlement provided for a pre-war status for both countries, but it was well understood that the United States had demonstrated its right to have, and its ability to maintain, freedom of the seas for its commerce. There was now no danger of further abridgment of American rights such as pertained to confiscation or impressment.

EVENTS OF MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION AFTER THE WAR.

The declaration of the war by the votes of the Southern and Western States seemed to the New England Federalists the climax of a long list of impositions. The war had prolonged the harm done New England shipping begun by the Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts. At the suggestion of Massachusetts these states sent delegates to meet at Hartford late in 1814, for the announced purpose of denouncing the ruinous policy of the Administration in its conduct of the war, and to suggest amendments to the Constitution that would lessen the growing power of the South and the West. The delegates met in secret debate and, it is believed, considered the advisability of seceding from the Union as an alternative to their demands. However, the messengers sent to demand redress at Washington arrived at an inopportune time, for the news had just come of the victory at New Orleans and of the Treaty of Ghent. Despairing for the success of their cause, the envoys returned to New England, and the agitation soon subsided. The Hartford Convention marks the downfall of the Federalist Party.

Indirectly the years of restriction of New England trade benefited the nation as a whole. Capital that ordinarily would have been invested in shipping was now used to develop the manufacturing resources of the section. Prior to the war the influx of foreign made goods had discouraged manufacturing in this country. Now a home market was assured if foreign goods were not to be allowed to flood the country at low prices at the conclusion of hostilities. Consequently, to protect our rising industries from the products of ill-paid European workmen, Congress passed its first protective tariff act in 1816. The tariff of 1816 raised the tax on dutiable imports to approximately 20 per cent.

Taking advantage of the fact that the United States was engaged in war, the Barbary pirates again became troublesome and a fleet had

to be dispatched against them at the close of the war. This difficulty is frequently known as the war with Algiers.

The downfall of the Federalist party left only the Republican party of Jefferson and Madison. Madison's Secretary of State, James Monroe, succeeded him as President by the election of 1816. Under Monroe, one of the last of the old Revolutionary heroes, it was felt that a reconciliation might be effected between New England and the rest of the country.

JAMES MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION.

1817-1825.

With the election of James Monroe was ushered in that political period in American history known as the "Era of Good Feeling." Not a cloud was discernable on the political horizon. All factions were united. No European problems vexed the government. The successful ending of the War of 1812 left us not merely politically free from Europe but had gained for us social, economic, and industrial independence. The period was marked by the beginning of a true American literature. William Cullen Bryant, Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper,—the works of all of these were worthy to rank with the best that the Old World produced. Monroe, a few weeks after his inauguration, toured the country and everywhere was met with enthusiasm that augured well for the political future of the nation. The war with Great Britain had nationalized the Republican party to the extent that it was practically supreme.

Yet what to a casual observer appeared to be an era of good feeling was, in reality, but the calm that precedes the storm. Just under the surface of American politics were beginning to seethe those controversies incident to sectional discord that years later led to the Civil War. The question of control of slavery was fast becoming a paramount issue.

War with the Seminoles in Florida for a time occupied the attention of the administration. Aided by a few renegade whites and outlaws, the Seminoles were using Spanish East Florida for a rendezvous from which to attack nearby American settlements in Georgia and Alabama. General Andrew Jackson was sent against the Indians, and with his usual aggressiveness pursued them into Spanish territory, captured the ringleaders and hanged them. This move led to our acquisition of East Florida because of the likelihood of troublesome complications arising with Spain. Thus in 1819 Florida was added to the United States by purchase, for the sum of \$5,000,000.

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

The question of the extension of slavery came uppermost when in 1818 Missouri petitioned for admission into the Union. The bill came up in Congress early in 1819 and an anti-slavery amendment was introduced by Representative Tallmadge of New York. The amendment passed the House by a close vote but was rejected by the Senate, where the slave-holding states held the balance of power. Thus the bill went over to the next Congress.

During the summer of 1819 the rival forces kept continually before the people the question of slavery in Missouri. Congressional aspirants were elected or failed of election dependent upon their attitudes on Missouri. To realize fully why such importance was attached to the slavery question in Missouri one need but consider that Missouri was the first to seek admission as a state from the region west of the Mississippi; and furthermore, at the time of her application, there were represented in Congress eleven free states and eleven slave-holding states. The admission of Missouri as either a free or a slave state would establish a precedent as regards slavery in states later carved from the Louisiana Purchase. If Missouri came into the Union as a free state, it would enable the free states to maintain majorities in both the Senate and in the House of Representatives, and in all probability enable the passing of almost any anti-slavery legislation. Hence the South's desperate struggle to admit the new state with slavery in order to maintain that section's power in Congress.

When Congress met again late in 1819 the Missouri bill was again introduced. At the same time a bill was introduced for the admission of Maine. Both bills passed the House, the Missouri bill being again amended to prohibit slavery. The Senate united the bills into one but, instead of the House prohibition, accepted Henry Clay's plan, voiced by Senator Thomas of Illinois, providing that Missouri be admitted as a slave state, but that all other states made from the Louisiana territory north of 36° 30' north latitude, the southern boundary of Missouri, be forever free states. This was the real compromise feature of the bill. When the measure went back to the House for its approval, that body again separated the two bills, each state to be admitted separately, and Missouri to retain the compromise feature as introduced by Thomas. This compromise over Missouri is frequently known as the "Compromise of 1820." Maine was admitted at once, while Missouri became a part of the Union a few months later after her constitution had undergone certain minor changes.

It now appeared that the menace to the Union arising from the slavery question had been settled for all time. Indeed, for thirty

years the line of 36° 30' north latitude served as a barrier to the extension of slavery. The question was again opened, however, a few years before the Civil War, when the South began to realize fully how advantageous to the North the Missouri Compromise actually was.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE (1823).

In the latter part of Monroe's second administration the United States government found itself confronted by a peculiar problem arising from the fact that European nations were about to encroach on territory in North and South America. Most of Spain's former colonies in South America had successfully revolted against Spanish rule and had had their independence recognized by the United States. The formation in Europe of the "Holy Alliance," a coalition of Austria, Prussia, Russia and France, now threatened to disturb the status of these new republics. The Alliance seemed about to aid Spain to recover her lost colonies. At the same time Russia showed a disposition to override our claims to the Oregon country by laying claim to the entire Pacific coast. England now proposed to the United States that the two nations act jointly in blocking the plans of the Holy Alliance. To John Quincy Adams, Monroe's able Secretary of State, it seemed that the United States, as the most powerful nation of the western hemisphere, should act alone in formulating a policy that would protect the New World from further colonization or conquest. After some difficulty he persuaded President Monroe of the wisdom of this course.

Monroe's message to Congress, 1823, therefore, embodied the famous "Monroe Doctrine,"—a statement of the policy of the United States toward the territory and government of the rest of the American continents. Copies of the doctrine in the form of notes were transmitted to the various European governments. The message declared, in substance, that the continents of the Western Hemisphere were henceforth not to be considered as subjects for colonization or conquest by any European powers; that the United States was determined not to meddle in European politics nor to disturb existing possessions of European powers in the New World; but that any attempt on the part of such powers to extend their dominions on this side of the Atlantic would be considered an act unfriendly to the United States and dangerous to our peace and safety.

The Monroe Doctrine had immediate effect. No European nation was prepared to risk war with the United States. Russia ceased encroaching on the Pacific coast, the Holy Alliance gave up its designs on South America, and France abandoned, for a time at least, her plan of seizing Mexico.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

In the reaction following the War of 1812 economic and social conditions changed materially. Immigration from Europe and emigration to the West had their effects in the democratic tendencies apparent in all phases of American life. The new West was making felt its influence in politics and in breaking down the old Puritan traditions and prejudices. Transportation problems were being solved by the construction of good turnpikes and canals. The Erie Canal, which was to link the East with the West commercially, was nearing completion at the end of Monroe's second term. When the aged Lafayette visited America in 1824 he was amazed at the progress made along all lines.

What had seemed a high protective tariff in 1816 was in 1824 thought too low. Hence in that year Congress raised the duties from 20 per cent to a 33 per cent average, at the urgent appeals from the North and the West.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION.

1825-1829.

The campaigns for the Presidency in 1824 did not mark a party struggle, but a struggle of sections. There were four candidates, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, and Senator Crawford of Georgia, each representing his own section of the country. None of these aspirants was acceptable to the nation at large. As a consequence there was no popular choice for President, since no candidate received a majority of the votes cast. The House of Representatives was left to decide and finally chose Adams.

Adams' term of office was marked by no very great or stirring events, but the breach between the commercial interests of the North and the agricultural interests of the South widened rapidly during this time. In spite of the temporary unifying effect of our second war with Great Britain it was not until after the Civil War that the United States became a real or assured Union. New England had become to a great extent a manufacturing section, fostered by protective tariff. Affairs finally reached a crisis over the matter of the tariff. Under the Constitution duties on foreign imports must be uniform for all sections. Consequently, when the appeals of the manufacturing class of the North had been met by one protective tariff after another, each higher than the preceding one, the South was moved to protest bitterly. For years that section had raised staples which were exported to Europe and exchanged for European manufactured goods.

As a result of the protective tariffs, the South got less and less in the way of foreign goods for every dollar's worth of raw material exported. A protective tariff soon becomes a burden to a section that has little or nothing to protect. With the tariff act of 1828, known to the South as the "Tariff of Abominations," tariff legislation in this country reached its highwater mark for the period prior to the Civil War.

The struggle to secure Western trade, engaged in by the various Atlantic seaboard cities, at last was definitely won by New York when in 1825 the great canal connecting the Hudson river with Lake Erie was completed. Due to the far-sightedness of the canal's great promoter, DeWitt Clinton, New York City now took the lead as America's foremost commercial city. The cheapness of water carriage compelled the freighters on the turnpike roads to lower their charges in order to meet competition, and at the same time also made it probable that canals would supersede overland transportation for heavy freights. Thus was effected a revolution in methods of transportation to be repeated a few decades later when the steam railroads came into their own. In 1825 the Ohio canal, connecting the Ohio river with Lake Erie, was begun. At about the same time the Chesapeake and Ohio canal was extended to Washington.

Hardly had the canal proved its worth as a means of transportation when railroads began to appear. A railroad for horse-drawn cars was built from Philadelphia to the Susquehanna, and work was begun on what later became a part of the Baltimore and Ohio System. In 1830 the first steam railroad was put into operation between Baltimore and Ellicott Mills, a village a few miles from the city.

In the Presidential election of 1828 Andrew Jackson was chosen by a large majority to succeed Adams. The growing West had at last triumphed over the conservative East and common people of the country had at last obtained a satisfying share in the national government. The present Democratic party has its real origin in the victory of Andrew Jackson and his followers.

ANDREW JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

1829-1837.

The festivities attendant on Jackson's inauguration were typical of the new democratic spirit that had swept him into office. Washington was thronged with a motley crowd such as had never before been seen in that city. Frontiersmen in picturesque attire and backwoodsmen in homespun with muddy boots rubbed elbows with cultured aristocrats and shrewd Eastern business men.

As a President, Jackson exhibited intense patriotism, was the soul of honesty, and had the courage of his convictions. But he was a military man, not a statesman. He had no patience with opinions contrary to his own, could see but one side of any question and consequently lacked calm, unbiased judgment. Like most of our military presidents, he often allowed himself to be influenced in his acts by clever politicians whose motives were not above reproach. However, once having made up his mind, he brooked no interference from friend or foe. After having selected a cabinet that met the approval of his party, he ignored these official advisers and surrounded himself with an unofficial body of personal friends, which was derisively known as "Jackson's Kitchen Cabinet."

During the "reign" of Jackson there were to be found in Washington some of the ablest and most famous figures in American political history. Chief among these were Henry Clay of Kentucky; Daniel Webster, the great New England orator and champion of nationalism; Robert Y. Hayne, spokesman for the radical nullification element in the South; and Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State, an astute party leader and Jackson's right-hand man. Equal to any of the above in ability and reputation, and by far the greatest leader in the South, was John C. Calhoun, the Vice-President. Calhoun was the real leader of the nullification faction, of which Hayne was spokesman.

With Jackson's inauguration came the beginning in national politics of the practise expressed in the phrase, "To the victors belong the spoils." So eager were the supporters of the new democracy for substantial reward in the form of political appointments that nothing would satisfy them but a wholesale turning out of office of those appointees who had held over from former administrations. This pernicious "Spoils System" started by Jackson was followed by succeeding presidents for the next half century, or until the Civil Service legislation became effective. Since Jackson made appointments to public office rewards for party service, naturally very little attention was paid to fitness or character of the appointee. The workings of the government were consequently impeded in many cases by such political deadwood.

NULLIFICATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

The South had been furious at the successful attempt of the North and West to inflict on it the Tariff of Abominations in 1828, and had been ready for almost any step, however drastic. But Calhoun and the more moderate element urged that action be suspended until an opportunity should be had of gauging the new president's attitude in

the matter. The anti-protective forces had not long to wait. At a public dinner in 1830 Jackson's utterances classed him unmistakably a supporter of nationalism and a friend of protective tariff. A few weeks later Jackson broke off relation with Calhoun after a private quarrel. In 1832 a new tariff was passed, but most of the objectionable features of the tariff of 1828 remained.

Immediately thereafter matters came to a crisis. In November, 1832, South Carolina passed an ordinance declaring the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 to be "null, void, and no law, nor binding upon this state, its officers or citizens." The state urged its citizens to resist any attempt of the national government to collect duties at the port of Charleston and elsewhere in the state. At the same time South Carolina began to raise troops.

The President now acted with commendable promptness. General Scott was sent to Charleston to defend the custom house and a proclamation was issued warning the people of South Carolina against the illegal and disorganizing action of its convention. An act known as the "Force Bill" was passed by Congress empowering the President to raise forces to meet the crisis. However, South Carolina was not to become the scene of armed conflict. Under the leadership of Henry Clay, Congress at length passed the Tariff Compromise of 1833, which provided for a gradual reduction of the tariff until the rates should have reached 20 per cent. This process of reduction was to cover a period of ten years in order that the manufacturing interests of the North might the more easily adjust themselves to the change. The object of the South's nullification action having been accomplished, the state of South Carolina repealed its ordinance and all plans of resistance were dropped.

JACKSON AND THE UNITED STATES BANK.

Jackson came into office with a pronounced antipathy to the United States Bank. Representing the West as he did, and being under the influence of several hundred powerful rivals of the government institution in the form of state banks, Jackson easily allowed himself to develop a firm conviction that the United States Bank was a menace to the interests of the people. He believed that its private stockholders were amassing enormous wealth at the expense of the common people from the use of the government funds. The charter of the bank was to expire during Jackson's term, so when in 1832 a bill was passed providing for the rechartering of the bank, the President vetoed it. Then without waiting for the bank's charter to expire, Jackson withdrew the government funds and distributed this public

money in accordance with his own plan. The substance of Jackson's belief was that the government money in reality belonged to the people and that the people should have an opportunity of using it. Consequently, he began to distribute the funds among various state or "pet" banks.

In the main, Jackson was right in his attitude toward the United States Bank, but unfortunately for the country, his opposition was destructive rather than constructive in its effect.

Having destroyed the United States Bank, he now substituted a system even worse. When the word went out that Jackson had government funds to distribute to state banks scores of such institutions were hurriedly organized with the view to sharing in the use of the public money. Many of these "wild cat" enterprises were basically unsound and were conducted by irresponsible officers and boards of directors. Since a bank makes its money by lending money and charging interest on its loans, these "wild cat" organizations were more interested in putting out the government money at a high rate of interest than in lending it on good security. Consequently, the people found money easy to obtain, and speculation and extravagance was soon rife throughout the country. The "pet" banks backed speculators in western lands, cotton, railroads, manufacturing enterprises, etc., to such an unprecedented extent that a financial crash was inevitable.

At length the government became alarmed for the safety of its money and issued a call on the banks that had received government deposits. This precipitated what is known as the Panic of 1837. While it occurred at the beginning of the administration of Jackson's successor, VanBuren, it was a direct result of the ill-advised policies of Jackson himself. The banks could not return the money since it had passed into the hands of private individuals and business corporations. The suspension of payment on the part of the banks brought about the failure of private enterprises throughout the country, threw thousands out of work, and left ruin and hardship in its wake. Eventually it brought about the defeat of the Democratic party in 1840.

INDIAN WARS.

For several years prior to the election of Jackson the government had had trouble with the Creeks and Cherokees, particularly in Georgia, when for some time that state had been engaged in a bitter controversy with the tribes over the matter of land cessions. In 1834 Congress removed the Creeks and Cherokees, together with neighbor-

ing tribes, to reservations west of the Mississippi. A similar policy of removal applied to the tribes of the Northwest had in 1832 resulted in a short war in Illinois and Iowa, known as "Black Hawk's War." A part of the Seminoles persisted in remaining in Florida and for several years defied the United States army and cost the government over \$20,000,000. This is known as the "Second Seminole War."

FOREIGN AFFAIRS UNDER JACKSON.

Largely through the energetic efforts of Jackson, the United States at last succeeded in collecting the French Spoliation Claims or claims for damage inflicted on our shipping by the French during the years immediately prior to the War of 1812.

Still more gratifying than the settlement of the long standing claims against the French, was the reopening of trade with the British West Indies. Jackson, through his Secretary of State, Van Buren, won a complete diplomatic victory in the negotiations with Great Britain.

Our relations with Mexico were strained during the whole of Jackson's administrations. This was natural since Texas, Mexico's northern province, was engaged in open revolt against the Mexican government, and was peopled largely by Americans. There is little doubt that troops sent to guard our southwestern border gave secret support to the Texan leader, Sam Houston.

MARTIN VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION. 1837-1841.

The election of 1836 was in reality settled by Jackson himself weeks before. His determination to have Van Buren succeed him was but weakly opposed by his party. No sooner had Van Buren taken office than the disastrous Panic of 1837 broke over the country. With the exception of this financial depression (touched upon in the preceding chapter) his administration was comparatively quiet and uneventful.

One significant act of the administration was the establishing of the Independent Treasury to take the place of the United States Bank, which had fallen into disrepute under Jackson. After the Whig victory of 1840, the Independent Treasury was temporarily set aside by a revival of the United States Bank. Polk, however, restored Van Buren's treasury system and it has remained in force to the present time.

By the Caroline Affair of 1837 the United States became involved in a heated quarrel with Great Britain over the right of New York

State to seize and hold for trial a Canadian named McLeod. The American steamer *Caroline* had been carrying food and supplies to a small band of Canadian revolutionists that had taken refuge on an island in the Niagara river. Failing to apprehend the *Caroline* on the Canadian side of the line, the Canadian officials seized her in a harbor in New York state, set fire to her, and let her drift down over Niagara Falls. In the excitement an American sailor was killed. McLeod, having boasted of his part in the affairs, was brought to trial in New York, charged with murder. Since New York had no power to treat with Great Britain, and since the federal government had no control over New York in the matter, conditions were slowly shaping themselves for war between the two countries. McLeod's acquittal resulted in the whole matter being dropped.

THE RISE OF THE WHIG PARTY.

During the decade prior to 1840 the anti-Jackson element among the voters had been working to perfect an opposition party. Taking the old Revolutionary name of Whig, the party put several candidates in the field in the election of 1836 in a fruitless effort to defeat Van Buren. The Panic of 1837 and its resultant period of hard times throughout the country materially affected the Whig fortunes, however. Here was their opportunity, and they made the most of it. The campaign of 1840 came at a time when thousands of voters were inclined to attribute the hard times to the Democratic administration, and hence were willing to shift their party allegiance. The Democrats renominated Van Buren on a platform of opposition to the United States Bank, internal improvement at national expense, high tariff, etc. The Whigs, playing for favor in both the North and the South, in their platform strongly favored the annexation of Texas and the acquisition of Oregon. In search of a candidate, they very shrewdly passed over Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and others of their leading men. Clay and Webster had been too long in national politics and had made too many enemies to be acceptable to the country at large. Instead, the Whigs chose William Henry Harrison, a military hero, about whose political ideas people knew very little. John Tyler, who could command the votes of the Clay faction, was to run for the Vice-Presidency. In what is known as the "Log Cabin, Hard Cider" campaign the slogan "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" led the Whigs to victory. The Democrats were stunned by the Whig landslide shown when the returns came in a few hours after the election. Van Buren had received but 60 electoral votes to Harrison's 234.

THE HARRISON-TYLER ADMINISTRATION.

1841-1845.

President Harrison died exactly a month after his inauguration and Vice-President Tyler succeeded to the Presidency. To the consternation of the Whigs Tyler now turned traitor to his party and refused to carry out the Whig pledges. The Whigs now disclaimed all responsibility for the acts of the Administration and read the President out of the party. Every member of his cabinet resigned except Daniel Webster, his Secretary of State. During the remainder of his term, Tyler was without a party. He tried to affiliate with the Democrats but without success for he had once been a Democrat and had deserted that party to join the Whigs.

During Tyler's administration occurred a serious disturbance in Rhode Island, known as "Dorr's Rebellion" (1842). Rhode Island was still using a modified form of her old Colonial charter as her State Constitution. Under this constitution only property holders had the right of suffrage. With the growth of popular government it was inevitable that the non-property-holding element should demand the vote. A "People's Party" was formed, a convention was held, and Thomas W. Dorr was chosen candidate for the governorship. He was declared elected by popular vote. In the meantime a governor had been elected in the usual manner by the regular voters. In order to break the resultant deadlock, Dorr and his followers attempted by force to take possession of the state property but failed. Dorr was now tried for treason and sentenced to prison, but was eventually released. He achieved his purpose, for Rhode Island immediately changed her constitution so as to admit his followers to the privilege so long denied them.

In New York State another disturbance known as the Anti-Rent Trouble occurred when the holders of land in the old Dutch patroonages refused to pay longer an annual ground rent, or quitrent, to descendants of the old patroons. Rioting occurred in which state officers and rent collectors were assaulted and even killed in a number of instances. After several months of litigation, the matter was amicably adjusted by the landlords agreeing to release the tenants from further obligation upon payment of a lump sum.

The indefinite wording of the treaty of 1783 had resulted in a long standing dispute with Great Britain over the boundary line of northeastern Maine. The efforts of Canadian and American settlers to drive each other from the disputed region resulted in a local disturbance sometimes known as the "Aroostook War." War with Great

Britain was impending when the Webster-Asburton Treaty (1842) was concluded, which provided a satisfactory adjustment of the claims of both nations.

Texas had won her independence from Mexico in 1837 after the victory of San Jacinto. For several years she existed as the Lone Star Republic. There was considerable sentiment in the United States in favor of annexation but a treaty to that effect was rejected by the Senate in the spring of 1844. The arguments in favor of annexation may be summed up as follows: (1) that racially the inhabitants of Texas were Americans; (2) that Texas was a country rich in resources which would add wealth to the Union; (3) that annexation was a natural and practical form of expansion; and (4) that it would enable slave-holding states to retain a needed control of the Senate.

The arguments against the annexation of Texas, advanced chiefly by the anti-slavery people and the abolitionists, were as follows: (1) that it would bring into the Union more slave territory; (2) that it would give the slave states permanent control of the government; and (3) that it would in all probability precipitate war with Mexico.

In 1844, Polk, the Democratic nominee for the Presidency, was elected on a platform pledging the annexation of Texas. Apparently a majority of the voters were in favor of the admission of Texas, so Congress and President Tyler waited no longer. A joint resolution admitting Texas as a state passed in March, 1845, and was signed by Tyler three days before he went out of office.

One of the greatest of modern inventions, the electric telegraph was first successfully tried out in 1844. In that year Samuel F. B. Morse, the inventor, used a \$30,000 appropriation obtained from Congress to build a line from Baltimore to Washington. In a few years thousands of miles of wire attested the practical value of the invention.

In the election of 1844 the Whigs almost unanimously pinned their faith to Henry Clay. Van Buren was the logical candidate for the Democratic party, but when the two-thirds rule was adopted in convention he failed to secure the needed votes. Instead, James K. Polk of Tennessee, a sort of dark horse candidate, received the nomination. A strong platform was adopted providing for the immediate occupation of Oregon and the annexation of Texas. "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" proved an excellent campaign cry, and meant that the Democrats were willing to risk war with England to maintain our claims to territory on the Pacific coast extending as far north as 54° 40' north latitude, or the present southern boundary of Alaska. For the first time in a national election the vote of the Abolitionist element,

known as the Liberty Party, decided the election. The abolitionists split the Whig vote in New York to such an extent that Polk carried that pivoted state and the election.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES K. POLK.

1845-1849.

“Fifty-four Forty or Fight” having served its purpose as a campaign cry, the Democrats were now ready to deal on a reasonable basis with Great Britain concerning our Oregon claims. In June, 1846, Polk made a compromise settlement, accepting the 49th parallel as the division line between American and British Pacific coast territory.

The Walker Tariff of 1846 with an average tax of 25 per cent on dutiable goods proved very acceptable to the country at large. This tariff remained in force for eleven years.

One reason why Polk had been so willing to accept the 49th parallel as a basis for settlement of our Oregon claims was that he had no intention of becoming involved in two wars at the same time. From the very first Polk had determined to add to the Union that part of Mexico lying in the Southwest and known as California and New Mexico. Attempts to persuade the Mexican government to sell to the United States this vast region having failed, Polk was now ready to find a pretext for waging war with Mexico. A plausible excuse for war soon presented itself. The United States with the annexation of Texas had naturally annexed Texas’ quarrel with Mexico over the southern boundary line of that state. The Texans claimed as far south as the Rio Grande, while the Mexicans disputed Texan claims to the region south of the Nueces river. Polk now sent General Zachary Taylor with an army to occupy the disputed territory. The Mexicans likewise determined to occupy the region and advanced north of the Rio Grande. The inevitable collision between the two forces occurred in May, 1846, when on two successive days skirmishes known as Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma were fought. The American forces were easily victorious, but Polk now had the opportunity he had for weeks been waiting for. He at once sent a message to Congress in which he declared that “American blood had been spilt on American soil,” and that a state of war existed notwithstanding all efforts to avoid it. The people followed Polk’s lead and prepared to prosecute the war vigorously. General Taylor was ordered to cross the Rio Grande and invade northern Mexico while a force was organized for the seizure of California and New Mexico.

In August, 1846, David Wilmot, Representative from Pennsylvania, precipitated a struggle in Congress that brought out clearly some of our real reasons for engaging in war with Mexico. To an ap-

propriation bill for war expenses. Wilmot attached a rider, or amendment, known as the Wilmot Proviso, to the effect that slavery be forever excluded from any territory acquired from Mexico as a result of the war. The whole South blazed up in fierce opposition. The Wilmot Proviso never became a law but the principle involved in it became the basis for years of sectional controversy. The whole affair made plain one of the reasons why Polk and his supporters in Congress were so determined to acquire the great Southwest.

THE MEXICAN WAR.

The progress of the Mexican War may best be followed by a brief tracing of the three chief armies put in the field against Mexico. General Taylor, with the Army of Occupation was to operate in the districts south of the Rio Grande; General Kearny was to invade New Mexico and California and expel the Mexican forces from that region; General Scott was sent to capture Vera Cruz and to force his way back from the coast with the purpose of capturing Mexico City, the capital.

Following Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, General Taylor led his forces against Monterey. After a short siege the city fell into American hands. Monterey was the chief stronghold of northern Mexico and its capture greatly enhanced Taylor's popularity in the United States. Now General Taylor was a Whig and Polk had no intention of letting him become too great a figure in the eyes of American voters. The President now ordered General Scott into Mexico and ordered Taylor to send the greater part of his force to aid Scott. This left the American force in northern Mexico hardly more than 5,000 men. Santa Anna, the Mexican commander, determined to take advantage of Taylor's weakened condition. With nearly 20,000 men he attacked the little American army at Buena Vista near Monterey. So vigorously did Taylor's force defend itself that not only were the Mexicans repulsed, but by nightfall were fleeing in utter confusion. Unfortunately for Polk's hopes, Taylor now became the military idol of the American people. Buena Vista made him President of the United States by the election of 1848.

Meanwhile Kearny's force penetrated into New Mexico and occupied Santa Fe without resistance. Kearny was then ordered to proceed to California to take possession of that region. Arriving at Los Angeles, he learned that the Americans in that country, under the leadership of the noted explorer John C. Fremont and aided by Commodore Stockton, had already driven out the Mexicans and taken possession of the coveted region. Thus California and New Mexico,

from which were later organized the States of California, Arizona, Nevada, Colorado, Utah, New Mexico and Oklahoma, fell into American hands almost without bloodshed.

While these events were occurring in the North, General Winfield Scott was conducting a remarkable campaign in Southern Mexico. Arriving before Vera Cruz in March 1847, Scott immediately began a tremendous bombardment of the city. For nearly a week thousands of shells from Commodore Conner's fleet battered the fortifications. At last the garrison surrendered with honors of war and Scott had obtained a base from which to begin his march on Mexico City. Santa Anna, after his disastrous defeat by Taylor at Buena Vista, had again collected a force of 10,000 men with which to defend the mountain passes. In rapid succession occurred the battles of Cerro Gordo, Jalapa, Contreras, San Antonio, Cherubusco, Molino del Rey, and at last Chapultepec, all American victories. With the fall of Chapultepec, which guarded the capital, Mexico City lay defenseless. In September Scott entered the city and raised the Stars and Stripes over the ancient palace of the Montezumas.

With the fall of the capital, Mexico sued for peace. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) conveyed to the United States the vast region of California and New Mexico. \$15,000,000 was paid to the Mexican leaders.

DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN CALIFORNIA (1848).

A few days before the treaty of peace ceding California to the United States was signed, gold was discovered on a branch of the Sacramento river in California. News of the discovery, however, did not become public for several weeks. By the following year, thousands of gold seekers, representing almost every corner of the civilized world were pouring into California. These picturesque "Forty-niners" in a few seasons collected millions of dollars worth of pure gold by the crude process of placer mining. Gradually law and order was established, thousands of gold-seekers saw business opportunity in the new country, and slowly there developed an air of stability and permanence. The discovery of gold brought more permanent settlers into the region in one year than would normally have emigrated to the Pacific coast in a quarter of a century. Furthermore, the discovery of gold destroyed Polk's cherished plan of bringing California into the Union as a slave state, for only a minority of the new settlers were slave holders and conditions on the coast were not favorable to slave labor.

TAYLOR-FILLMORE ADMINISTRATION.

The Democratic Convention of 1848 ignored Polk's claim to a second term and nominated General Lewis Cass of Michigan instead. Cass would likely have been elected had it not been for Van Buren's lack of support. This split in the Democratic party threw into office the Whig candidate, General Zachary Taylor. Millard Fillmore, a northern man, was elected to the vice-presidency. Taylor's death after a year in office made Fillmore president.

In 1850 California had sufficient population to justify it in applying for admission to the Union. The country was now confronted with a situation similar to that of Missouri in 1820. If California were admitted as a free state, it would mean permanent superiority of the North in the Senate. The slavery question, once thought to have been settled definitely by the Missouri Compromise was again becoming a menace to the peace of the nation. California itself was overwhelmingly opposed to becoming slave soil, yet the South was determined to maintain its balance of power in Congress. At this critical time Henry Clay, the "Great Pacificator," again stepped into the breach with the last of his famous compromises. Both sides were loath to accept Clay's plan, but after long and violent debate in Congress the measure finally passed.

The salient features of the Compromise of 1850, often loosely called the Omnibus Bill, may be summed up as follows: (1) California was to come into the Union as a free state; (2) all other territory acquired as a result of the Mexican War was to be admitted into the Union, with or without slavery, dependent on the will of the inhabitants at the time of admission; (3) a more stringent fugitive slave act was provided in an effort to break up such objectionable practices as the aiding of slaves to escape to free territory through the agency of the "Underground Railroad" and other kindred means; (4) the slave trade in the District of Columbia was prohibited; (5) Texas was to receive \$10,000,000 as indemnity for accepting her present limits.

From the above it may be seen that Clay's compromise was designed to appease to some extent both the North and the South on several of the important points of issue. Once more the slavery question seemed to be settled, but it proved to be but a brief postponement of an issue that could only be settled by a recourse to arms.

Failure to acquire new slave territory in California now led the South to seek extension elsewhere. For years that section had favored the acquisition of Cuba, but Spain had steadfastly refused to consider disposing of the island. Armed revolt of the Cubans against Spain led to a number of filibustering expeditions being fitted out in the United States, ostensibly for the purpose of aiding the misgoverned Cubans,

but in reality in the interests of the slave-holding states. One of the most noted of these expeditions, commanded by Lopez, was captured by the Spaniards in 1853. Lopez, with more than two score of his followers, was executed. News of this precipitated an attack on the Spanish consulate at New Orleans.

So distasteful were the fugitive slave laws enacted under the Compromise of 1850, that many of the northern states passed what are known as Personal Liberty Bills in an effort to interfere with the enforcement of the federal acts. To the radical anti-slavery people there appeared to be a higher law even than the Constitution, which demanded that humane treatment be accorded runaway negroes. Consequently, efforts on the part of slave owners to recover their property frequently resulted in rioting and armed clashes between the Southerners and the sympathizers of the negro. In 1852 a novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, written by Harriet Beecher Stowe, first made its appearance in book form. Purporting to be a true picture of slave life in the South, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* soon became the most widely read and most discussed book of the decade. Perhaps no other single factor contributed as much toward the molding of public opinion in the North. Although not designed by the author primarily as a political weapon, the novel gave a tremendous impetus to the anti-slavery movement now so rapidly sweeping the northern states.

In the political campaign of 1852 both Whigs and Democrats tried to ignore the slavery issue. But old party bonds were weakening and a transition was taking place along the lines of opposition to slavery or support of that institution. The Whigs had little in the way of presidential material, and were forced to name General Winfield Scott. For the Democratic nomination there was strong competition. At length a dark horse candidate, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, was named for the candidacy. It was felt that Pierce would be acceptable to both the North and the South, for he seemed to have no pronounced views on the matter of slavery and had declared that if he were elected the slavery question should not come before the people during his administration. In the ensuing election Pierce won easily, for despite their large popular vote, the Whigs carried but four states.

FRANKLIN PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION.

1853-1857.

Despite Pierce's assertion that the slavery question was not to be brought up during his administration, he had hardly taken office when the question was reopened in all its bitterness. Pierce had hinted that he favored the annexation of Cuba. So when the American steamer

Black Warrior was seized in Havana for a technical violation of the customs regulations, his Southern friends influenced him to threaten war with Spain. In the meantime European nations were anxious to learn whether the numerous American filibustering expeditions to Cuba indicated any settled policy of the United States in regard to that island. Consequently, Pierce ordered Soulé, Buchanan, and Mason, our ministers to Spain, England, and France, respectively, to meet at Ostend, Belgium, and make a declaration as to our intentions in Cuba, that would satisfy foreign governments. He expected them to issue a diplomatically worded manifesto that might mean little or nothing. But each of these ministers was a pro-slave man of the most pronounced type. To Pierce's surprise, their manifesto when issued advocated action so radical that the President had no course other than to ignore the whole affair. The Ostend Manifesto urged that the United States gain Cuba by purchase if possible, but by force if necessary, in other words, the manifesto was a crude attempt on the part of its makers to defend the proposition that might makes right. The influence of Marcy, Secretary of State, at last resulted in Pierce's acceptance of a settlement of the Black Warrior Affair, and hence removed any excuse for war.

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL.

Such opposition as was aroused by Pierce's evident desire to secure Cuba in the interests of the slave-holding section, however, paled into insignificance when compared with the storm that burst over the Administration because of its attitude on the Kansas-Nebraska question. The great region north and west of Missouri, extending to the Rockies and the Canadian line, and a part of the Louisiana Purchase, was uninhabited by whites until after the beginning of the overland travel to the Pacific coast. This immense tract was known as Nebraska. Organization under a territorial government was now desirable.

In 1854 Stephen A. Douglas, senator from Illinois, introduced a bill for the organization of Nebraska into two territories, Kansas and Nebraska. At the same time he embodied in the bill the remarkable proposition that the matter of slavery in these territories should be settled on the principle of "squatter sovereignty," that is, the settlers in the region should have the right to decide for themselves whether or not there should be slavery in the new territories. In defense of his theory Douglas advanced the arguments that Congress, by leaving the question of slavery to be settled in Utah and New Mexico by popular sovereignty in the Compromise of 1850, had established a precedent for a similar solution of the question in all other territories; that the Missouri Compromise, setting the southern boundary of Missouri as

the line north of which slavery might not encroach, ought to be set aside on the ground that it was unconstitutional; and that a scattering of slaves rather than a segregation of slavery would mitigate any evils inherent in that institution.

Douglas' act in thus attempting to break down the barriers to the extension of slavery will admit of no other interpretation than that his presidential ambitions had induced him to curry favor with the Southern element in his party. He was already the acknowledged leader of the Northern Democrats, and if he could throw open the Northwest to slavery without making so direct an attack on the Missouri Compromise as to lose the support of his followers in the North, he could undoubtedly be elected president. His project of "squatter sovereignty" once launched, however, was carried further than he intended, for Senator Dixon of Kentucky now made an amendment to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill specifically repealing the Compromise of 1820. Douglas dared not attack this amendment without losing Southern support. After a sharp fight in the Senate the bill went to the House, where Douglas secured its passage by a narrow margin. Pierce now weakly signed the bill before public sentiment in the North had a chance to crystallize.

No sooner had the Kansas-Nebraska Bill become law than the storm broke in all its fury. Douglas and Pierce found themselves the objects of bitterest criticism. Political popularity gained for Douglas in the South was counter-balanced by his loss of Democratic supporters in the North.

BORDER WARFARE IN KANSAS.

The practical workings-out of the principle of popular sovereignty were now to be tested. An election must now be held to determine the status of slavery in the new territories, whether the inhabitants would accept or repudiate slavery. Recourse to the ballot brought with it its inevitable result. Hundreds of armed Missourians and other pro-slave men rushed into Kansas with a view to dominating the polls and influencing the elections. At the same time Emigrant Aid Societies, controlled by Free-Soilers and other radical anti-slavery people, sent hundreds of free state men into Kansas. It was generally conceded that Nebraska, because of its position, would eventually become a free state. The struggle for supremacy thus very naturally confined itself chiefly to Kansas. In the election for members of the first territorial legislature three thousand legal voters cast over six thousand votes. By such means the pro-slave element in Kansas obtained a majority in the legislature which met in July 1855. The anti-slavery people now set up a rival government at Topeka, which was

broken up by federal troops acting under orders of President Pierce. The burning of Lawrence, a free-state town, was retaliated for by a massacre of slave-state men. This was the situation in Kansas on the eve of the presidential election of 1856.

THE NEW REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE ELECTION OF 1856.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill shattered the Whig party, by leaving its Northern and Southern adherents hopelessly estranged over the question of extension of slavery. The upheaval in the Democratic party was hardly less great. Thousands of lifelong Democrats found the Kansas-Nebraska Act unendurable. Such a situation necessarily brought about a new alignment of the political forces of the country, a reorganization on a purely sectional basis. The time was ripe for the formation of a new party, founded on definite principles pertaining to slavery.

The new Republican party was born in 1854 in Wisconsin. A few weeks later at Jackson, Michigan, a great Republican mass meeting stated the platform of the new party when it demanded the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska law and the Fugitive Slave law, and at the same time pronounced slavery a moral, social and political evil, the extension of which was to be opposed. The Republican party was made up of Northern Whigs, Free-Soilers, Northern Democrats, anti-Nebraska men, Abolitionists, and former adherents of the American or "Know-nothing" party. The growing strength of the new party was shown by the fact that when Congress met in 1855, the Democrats in the House were in a minority by seventy-five votes. The first national convention of the Republican party was held in Philadelphia in 1856. By the nomination of John C. Fremont for the presidency, the new party hopelessly destroyed its chance of winning in the coming election. Fremont was a weak candidate, totally unfitted to head his party.

At the Democratic convention held in Cincinnati three prominent aspirants for presidential honors appeared, Douglas, Pierce, and Buchanan. The support of Douglas and Pierce came principally from the South. Buchanan was finally chosen, since his nomination would insure a measure of support in both the North and the South.

The South was free in threats to secede if Fremont were elected. Such was not to be the case, however, for at the polls in November Buchanan carried the election by a safe majority. Thus the final break between the North and South was postponed for another period of four years, or until the Republican party had found in the person of Abraham Lincoln a leader worthy of achieving the purposes for which the party was formed.

JAMES BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION.

1857-1861.

What was practically civil war in Kansas, was still raging when Buchanan took office. Since neither Congress nor the Kansas settlers had proved equal to settling the question of slavery in the territories, the Supreme Court of the United States now tried its hand, in the case of Dred Scott, a negro.

THE DRED SCOTT DECISION.

Dred Scott, a slave owned by an army surgeon, was in 1835 and 1836 taken by his master into the free regions of Illinois and Minnesota. Some time later he was taken back to Missouri, a slave state. A number of years after this Dred Scott sued for his freedom in the courts of Missouri, on the ground that residence in free territory made him free. The Missouri courts rendered decisions against the negro as did the United States Court for Missouri, but eventually the case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court. The Supreme Court at length sustained the decisions of the federal courts for Missouri and at the same time Chief Justice Taney, of Maryland, handed down a long opinion designed to settle the status of negro slavery in the United States. The doctrine laid down by the Chief Justice was, in substance, as follows: (1) That a negro could not become a citizen of the United States, and consequently had no right to sue in the courts; (2) that neither Congress nor any territorial legislature had the right to make restrictions concerning slavery, and, consequently, the Missouri Compromise line was null and void; (3) that under the Constitution the negro was regarded as property and as such could rightfully be taken anywhere in the United States.

The Dred Scott Decision was hailed with joy in the South, but the great majority of the people of the North condemned the opinion of the court as unjust and a product of sectional prejudice. The decision, if adhered to, would throw the whole North open to slavery. If he cared to, a Southern slave holder could purchase an estate in Ohio or Massachusetts, move there with his slaves, and thus maintain a decadent institution among freemen. It became increasingly evident that the great question would never be satisfactorily settled by peaceable means.

THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION.

Meanwhile, the pro-slave element in Kansas held a convention at Lecompton, and drew up a form of state constitution to be submitted to Congress. In order to maintain a semblance of fairness this con-

stitution was first submitted to the territorial voters. By an ingenious arrangement the voters were given no choice in the matter of slavery. They must either vote for the Lecompton constitution *with* slavery, or for the Lecompton constitution *without* slavery. In either event they would be voting for slavery, since a clause in the constitution protected all existing slave property in the state. The free-state voters realized that the referendum was but a sham and refused to attend the polls. The pro-slave men then considered the approval of their own voters sufficient and submitted the Lecompton constitution to Congress.

To the everlasting credit of Douglas, that Senator now acted in a manner such as to regain for him much of his former popularity in the North. Realizing that the Lecompton constitution was but a travesty on the principle of popular sovereignty, Douglas attacked Buchanan fiercely for being willing to accept the Lecompton fraud as a basis for the admission of Missouri. So skilfully and so energetically did he organize his opposition in Congress that the constitution failed of acceptance, and Douglas had not thrown away his popularity in the South in vain. In 1861 Kansas came into the Union as a free state.

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES.

Douglas' term in the Senate expired in 1858. His fight against the Lecompton constitution had restored his popularity in Illinois to such an extent that he confidently expected to be returned to office. Opposed to Douglas was the foremost Illinois Republican, Abraham Lincoln. At first the contest for the senatorship attracted little attention outside the state, for Lincoln had not yet established himself in the public eye. Interest came later when Lincoln challenged his rival to a series of joint debates to be held in the various towns of Illinois. It seemed a foolhardy act on the part of the Republican candidate, for Douglas was at the time the best-known orator in the country while Lincoln had no qualifications for public speaking other than shrewd common sense backed by hard facts and logic.

The subject to be debated was the relative merits of the Democratic principle of squatter sovereignty as opposed to the Republican doctrine of control of slavery in the territories by Congress. Douglas made the mistake of putting his speeches in the form of questions to be answered by his rival. Whereupon Lincoln asked Douglas this question: "Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way exclude slavery from its limits, prior to the formation of a state constitution?" Douglas was at a loss for an answer. If he

answered, as he finally did, that slavery could be excluded through unfriendly legislation on the part of the territorial legislature, he would ignore the Dred Scott Decision, which held that no territory had the right to legislate against slavery; moreover he himself had pronounced the Decision sound Democratic doctrine. If he answered that slavery could not be excluded by the people of a territory, he turned his back squarely on his doctrine of popular sovereignty. His answer made it impossible for him ever to be elected President for the Southern Democrats were furious at his repudiation of the Dred Scott Decision.

Douglas won the senatorial contest but Lincoln's terse, concise speeches and unanswerable logic had made him a nation-wide figure and had made possible his nomination for the Presidency in 1860.

JOHN BROWN'S RAID ON HARPERS FERRY.

In October, 1859, a band of desperate men under the leadership of John Brown, lately come east from Kansas, attacked the little village of Harpers Ferry, Virginia, seized the government arsenal, and attempted to start a slave insurrection. Contrary to Brown's expectations, the negroes showed little inclination to fight for their freedom, and fled terror-stricken. The following day Colonel Robert E. Lee, in command of a force of marines, arrived on the scene. After a sharp skirmish in which several of Brown's men were killed, Lee succeeded in capturing Brown and a number of his followers.

The importance of Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry was, by the Southern people, magnified beyond all reason. Slaveholders jumped to the conclusion that the affair was the result of a well laid conspiracy on the part of organized societies in the North. As a matter of fact, Brown had acted entirely on his own responsibility and his act was either the result of an unbalanced mind or of fanatical zeal in behalf of the negro. Brown was charged with treason, convicted, and promptly executed.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860 AND ITS EFFECTS.

The country had scarcely recovered from the excitement of John Brown's raid when the coming of another Presidential election caused apprehension for the safety of the Union. Early in 1860 Jefferson Davis introduced in the Senate a series of resolutions setting forth the extreme Democratic doctrine of the South, that the states were sovereign, that the national government was subordinate, and that neither Congress nor the territorial legislatures had the right to prohibit slavery in the territories. Before the Democratic party as a whole was willing to accept these resolutions, the Democratic National Convention met in Charleston to choose a candidate for the Presidency.

A platform based on the Davis resolutions was unacceptable to the Northern delegation. The Northern delegates stood so solidly for the adoption of a less radical platform that delegates from six of the Southern states "bolted" the convention and met at Richmond, Va. The remainder of the convention adjourned from Charleston to meet at Baltimore. All efforts to effect a reunion of the two factions failed. The Northern or conservative branch of the party now nominated Stephen A. Douglas. The radical, pro-slave element, in meeting at Richmond, named John C. Breckenridge for the Presidency. Thus occurred the fatal split in the Democratic party that resulted in the election of Lincoln and the precipitating of the Civil War.

The Republican party met in convention in Chicago in May. The acknowledged leader of the party was William H. Seward, of New York, but many thought him too radical. A moderate man, preferably from the West, was needed to carry the border states. Such a candidate was found in the person of Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, and he was nominated on the third ballot.

On election day Lincoln carried every Northern state, gaining 180 electoral votes while needing only 152 for election. To the slavery men of the South it then appeared plain that slave property was no longer secure now that the "black" Republicans had made President of the United States a man whose "opinions and purposes" were hostile to slavery. Secession from the Union now seemed to the South the only course open. It had been freely predicted during the campaign of 1860 that the election of Lincoln would mean disunion, but the majority of Northerners had minimized this danger.

South Carolina now took the lead in the South, and passed an ordinance of secession, December 20, 1860. Within six weeks six other Southern states (Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas) followed her in the secession movement. Delegates from these seven states met at Montgomery, Alabama, in February, 1861, and formed the Southern Confederacy. A constitution was adopted, and Jefferson Davis was chosen President, with Alexander Stephens as his Vice-President. A few weeks later, after the actual beginning of hostilities, Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee, joined the Southern Confederacy, making the total number of seceding states eleven. Early in the war the Confederate capital was moved to Richmond, Virginia, as being nearer the theatre of action.

The United States could have had no weaker chief executive in her hour of need than was James Buchanan. Cautious to the point of timidity, he allowed the great secession movement to develop momentum without lifting a hand toward preservation of the Union.

Encouraging the South by his very helplessness and lack of decision, he made no move to prevent the organizing and drilling of Confederate troops, the building of fortifications, and seizure of government property such as arsenals, shipyards, a United States mint, and supplies of all kinds.

It must be kept in mind that comparatively few pro-slave men in the South were secessionists. There were even thousands of loyal Union men in that section, particularly in 1860. But the "hot-heads" or ultra-radicals were largely in control. Thousands of men fought in the Confederate armies through a sense of loyalty to the section or to their states, who never were in sympathy with secession. General Robert E. Lee is a notable example.

A number of eleventh hour attempts to maintain peace between the sections were made during the interval between Lincoln's election and his inauguration. A so-called Peace Congress met in Washington and sent recommendations to Congress. Senator Crittenden introduced in the Senate what is known as the "Crittenden Amendment," designed to change the Constitution so as to settle the difference between the sections. These peace plans came to naught for the roots of the bitterness that caused the impending conflict were too deeply imbedded for the question to be settled offhand.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION.

1861-1865 (REELECTED IN 1865).

All hope of now saving the nation rested on the incoming president. The feeling of conciliation that had marked the Northern people during the winter was now slowly changing to an attitude of deep resentment and firm purpose. The secession of the South had temporarily caused the North to feel regret over the Republican victory, but Lincoln's inaugural address struck the right chord. Contrary to popular belief in the South, Lincoln was no abolitionist, though he hated slavery; he had been elected on a platform of non-extension of slavery, but he had no intention of attacking that institution in sections where it already existed; his purpose was to uphold the Constitution and preserve the Union. If the seceding states persisted in their course, there would be war.

Lincoln chose as his Cabinet staunch Union men: W. H. Seward, Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy; Caleb B. Smith, Secretary of the Interior; Edward Bates, Attorney-General; and Montgomery Blair, Postmaster-General.

THE CIVIL WAR (1861-1865).

CAUSES AND PRELIMINARY EVENTS OF THE WAR.

Strictly speaking, our Civil War was not a civil war, but was a war of sections, a war between two peoples of widely different traditions, customs, occupations, industries, and lines of thought. Only in the border states was it a civil war. The North was a manufacturing and commercial section, a country of small agriculturalists, producing diversified products. The South was almost wholly an agricultural section, producing staple raw materials, such as cotton, corn, tobacco, live stock, cane and rice.

Slavery was the one fundamental cause of the war. State sovereignty was but a convenient and effective weapon with which the slaveholder fought for the continued existence and extension of the institution of slavery. Secession occurred because Republican control of the national government endangered slavery in the South. Yet secession was not an underlying cause of the war, it only precipitated the conflict.

A comparison of the resources of the warring sections aids us to understand why the Southern Confederacy was ultimately crushed. The population of the northern states exceeded twenty-two millions; the population of the South was less than ten millions. The national government was of long standing, was recognized all over the world, and had established friendly relations abroad; the Southern Confederacy was handicapped by having to establish relations and credit abroad. The North had immeasurably the greatest advantage in her superiority in men, money, and materials of war; the South was dependent on foreign nations for war materials, for munition and clothing factories were almost wholly lacking in that section. The North had a navy and facilities for enlarging it; the South, having practically no shipping except that seized from the United States government, was rendered increasingly helpless as the Union blockade closed her ports to foreign trade.

The South had, however, certain lesser advantages over the North, that tended to prolong the war. There was far greater unanimity in opinion and action among the people of the Confederacy than was the case in the North. The South had better trained troops and better military leaders during the first two years of the struggle. The South was waging the war at home, with all the advantages that are attendant on defensive warfare. The Confederacy very reasonably had prospects, for a time at least, of securing Great Britain as an active ally.

CAMPAIGN IN THE EAST DURING 1861.

Actual hostilities began April 12, 1861, when the Confederates opened fire on Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor. Sumter was occupied by Major Robert Anderson with less than a hundred men. When it became plain to the Confederate leaders that Lincoln intended to relieve the fort, General Beauregard was ordered to begin the bombardment. A day and a night of incessant artillery fire battered the fort to pieces, and on April 14 Anderson and his little garrison surrendered.

On the day following, the President called on the state governments for 75,000 militia to serve for three months in defense of the Union. The response on the part of the North was significant of the change that was rapidly taking place in the minds of the people. Firing on Fort Sumter was a colossal blunder on the part of Jefferson Davis and his advisers, for by that act public sentiment in the North was crystallized. Millions of people had cared little whether the South seceded or not, millions had been opposed to the use of force to prevent secession, but now that the United States flag had been fired upon, all this was changed. For the first time in decades party differences were forgotten, and the North stood as a unit for war.

While the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment was passing through Baltimore on its way to Washington it was attacked by a mob and several soldiers and a number of civilians were killed. Thus on April 19, the anniversary of Lexington and Concord, occurred the first bloodshed of the Civil War. During the summer of 1861 the national government was handicapped by its lack of preparedness. The War Department found its facilities inadequate for the task before it, and for months the thousands of troops concentrated near Washington were not properly cared for in the way of training, equipment and supplies. Officers from the South were resigning daily from the army and navy to offer their services to their home section. However, the government at Washington gradually developed a definite plan for conducting the war.

Union Plan of the War.

I. The blockade of all important Southern ports in an effort to prevent trade between the Confederate states and foreign countries.

II. To gain complete control of the Mississippi river and thus to cut the Confederacy in two, and at the same time to cut the chief lines of communication between the East and the West.

III. The occupation of the border states in order to hold them for the Union, and to provide military bases for operations against the Confederacy.

IV. To invade the South from a number of points simultaneously with a view to recovering the seceded territory and at the same time dividing the enemy forces. In the East the chief objective of the Union forces was the capture of Richmond, the Confederate capital.

1. *Bull Run*.—For a few weeks after the surrender of Fort Sumter, Washington was in danger of falling into the hands of the Confederates, but by June sufficient Union troops had reached the capital to insure its safety. General Beauregard with about 20,000 Confederate troops was encamped at Manassas Junction, thirty miles south of Washington. General Joseph E. Johnson, with 10,000 more Confederates, was in the Shenandoah Valley, west of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

Public opinion in the North now demanded that these Confederate armies be crushed. "On to Richmond" became the cry of the Northern press. Against the judgment of his military leaders, Lincoln now permitted General Scott to order an advance. General McDowell, with 30,000 troops, mostly raw militia, was ordered to move into Virginia against General Beauregard. General Patterson, with another Union force, was ordered to hold Johnston's force in the Shenandoah to prevent its junction with Beauregard.

On July 21 McDowell's army engaged the Confederates. Union hopes ran high. McDowell attacked with vigor and by noon was slowly driving the Confederates back. At this critical moment, however, Johnston's force, which had eluded Patterson, arrived to aid Beauregard. This event decided the battle, for the Union troops, worn out with the day's fighting, at the sight of enemy re-enforcements became demoralized. Beauregard not only recovered his lost ground but drove McDowell's forces pell-mell in the direction of Washington. What had at first been an orderly retirement soon became a rout. The panic-stricken soldiers threw away their guns and equipment and fled precipitately. Fear of pursuit urged on the fleeing mass until it had reached comparative safety on the heights overlooking Washington.

The disaster at Bull Run for a time stunned the North, but soon this consternation gave way to renewed determination. A defeat such as it had experienced was, in reality, what was needed to bring the North to a realization of the magnitude of the task confronting it. With dogged determination the government now set about the preparation to retrieve its losses.

2. *Army of Potomac Reorganized*.—General George B. McClellan was now given the task of reorganizing the Union army. He had already attracted attention by his skilful campaign in West Virginia by which he drove the Confederates out of that region, and was emi-

nently well fitted to build up an army. By the fall of 1861 he had 180,000 men under his command and was rapidly bringing order out of chaos. Although his army was now greatly superior in point of numbers to those of the Confederates, he preferred to delay his drive on Richmond until the Spring of 1862.

3. *The Trent Affair*.—While the United States had not formally recognized the belligerency of the Confederacy, in practise the war was actually being conducted on such a basis. However, Great Britain's formal recognition of the right of the South to wage war was deeply resented in the United States. More serious complications now arose over the affair of the British steamer *Trent*. The Confederacy hoped to have its independence recognized abroad and sent Messrs. Mason and Slidell to England to plead its cause. While en-route from Havana to England, these envoys were taken from the *Trent*, on which they were passengers, by Captain Wilkes of the U. S. S. *San Jacinto*. The arrest of Mason and Slidell was hailed with joy in the North, but Lincoln very wisely released the prisoners and disavowed the act, since he saw that that would furnish Great Britain the excuse she was thought to be seeking for giving active aid to the Confederacy.

CAMPAIGN IN THE WEST DURING 1861.

1. *Wilson's Creek*. In the West during 1861 there were few military moves of importance. The year was spent chiefly in preparing north of the Ohio a powerful force that would be able successfully to invade the South the following year. River gunboats were being built with which to operate on the Mississippi and its tributaries. Immense quantities of military stores were being collected at points in southern Illinois and Indiana. Chiefly through the efforts of General Lyon an attempt on the part of secessionists to obtain control of Missouri failed.

Meanwhile the Confederacy was preparing a force to drive out Union troops from Missouri. A combined Confederate force under Price and McCulloch now entered the state, numbering 12,000 men. Against these General Lyon had available only 6,000 men. In August Lyon attacked the Confederates at Wilson's Creek. In a desperate battle he strove vainly to break the Confederate line. The death of the Union commander was followed by the retirement of his forces, leaving Price and McCulloch in possession of the field. Each side lost slightly over a thousand men.

2. In November General Grant destroyed Confederate stores at Belmont, in eastern Missouri. Grant had his headquarters at Cairo, Illinois.

CAMPAIGNS IN THE EAST DURING 1862.

1. *The Monitor and the Merrimac*.—Since the beginning of the war the United States Navy had been giving a good account of itself. An expedition against the North Carolina coast had resulted in the establishment of a base on Pamlico Sound. Another expedition under Burnside seized Roanoke Island. Late in 1861 Admiral Dupont captured forts near Port Royal, S. C., and established a base from which to conduct the blockade. But none of these events had as great a significance, from a naval standpoint, as an engagement that took place in Hampton Roads, Virginia, early in 1862.

The Confederates had seized at Norfolk the old government ship *Merrimac*, had covered her with railroad iron and rechristened her *Virginia*. Both sides had been experimenting with iron-clads but as yet there had been no opportunity of testing their practical value in actual warfare. In March, 1862, the *Merrimac* was sent out to attack the Union fleet of wooden ships assembled in Hampton Roads. Steaming steadily on in the face of a tremendous cannonading the *Merrimac* attacked and destroyed the Union ships *Cumberland* and *Congress*. The following day she appeared again prepared to complete the destruction of the Union fleet. During the night, however, the United States ironclad *Monitor* had appeared on the scene. The *Monitor* was utterly different from the *Merrimac* in design and mounted two enormous guns in a revolving turret. On the approach of the Confederate ship the two ironclads immediately engaged. For several hours the two ships battered each other without any serious damage to either. Finally Lieutenant Worden, commanding the *Monitor*, was wounded and the Union vessel drew off into shallow water. The *Merrimac* returned to her base and the Union fleet was saved. It was now quite evident that the day of the wooden warship was past; that a revolution in methods of naval warfare had occurred. Both the North and the South now constructed ironclads, which were frequently pitted against each other later in the war.

2. *The Peninsular Campaign*.—In April McClellan was at last ready to move his great army against Richmond. The whole Army of the Potomac, with the exception of 40,000 men under McDowell, left to protect Washington, was moved on transports to the Union base at Fort Monroe, near Norfolk. McClellan's plan was to force his way up the narrow peninsula between the York and the James rivers, at the head of which was Richmond. Opposed to the Union commander with his force of 115,000 men was the Confederate army of Northern Virginia under General J. E. Johnston, numbering about 90,000.

Despite his superior force, McClellan's lack of generalship in the field delayed his progress. Afraid to risk his splendid army on anything short of a certainty, he lost opportunities for pushing his advance. The heavy rains and the character of the country to be traversed added to his difficulties. At Williamsburg he lost much valuable time in laying siege to positions which the Confederates had no intention of holding and on which were mounted chiefly wooden, or "Quaker," guns.

At Seven Pines, or Fair Oaks, McClellan allowed himself to be checked within seven miles of Richmond. Alarmed because the reinforcements under McDowell had been held in the Shenandoah by Stonewall Jackson's brilliant feint of attack on Washington, he feared to push his advantage. The delay gave time for Jackson to return and join Lee, who was now at the head of the Confederate army. The Confederates then took the offensive and in the famous "Seven Days' Fighting" (in which were fought the battles of Mechanicsville, Gaines Mills, Frazier's Farm, and Malvern Hill) forced the Union army to retreat to the James river. Thus McClellan lost all the ground he had gained after weeks of campaigning. The Union army's great drive had fallen short of its purpose, so the whole force was recalled to the vicinity of Washington and McClellan was superseded by General Pope, who had attracted attention in the West.

3. *Lee's First Invasion of the North.*—Confederate success in the Peninsular campaigning now led General Lee to attempt an invasion of the North. Aside from the moral effect invasion would have on the North, Lee believed that if he could enter Maryland with his army, thousands of recruits would flock to his standards, quantities of supplies and provisions would be obtained, and Maryland would perhaps be induced to join the ranks of the seceded states.

In the meantime, General Pope with a new army of the Potomac, consisting chiefly of McClellan's old force, attacked Lee on the old battle ground of Bull Run. In what is known as the Second Battle of Bull Run, the Union forces received another severe defeat and were again forced to retire on Washington. Pope was removed and McClellan reinstated.

The way for Lee's advance was now open. Sweeping up the Shenandoah Valley, the Confederate van under Stonewall Jackson captured Harper's Ferry, taking 12,000 prisoners. The Confederate forces now crossed the Potomac into western Maryland. Near Sharpsburg, on Antietam Creek, Lee found his way blocked by McClellan's army. Here, in one of the bloodiest single battles of the war, the Union force stubbornly held its ground. At the close of the

day's fighting nearly 25,000 men lay dead or wounded on the field. Neither side had gained any ground of importance. After resting his men for twenty-four hours, McClellan was about to attack again. Lee, however, deemed further advance unwise in the face of such resistance, so suddenly drew off his troops, recrossed the Potomac, and retired into Virginia. He was slowly followed by the Union army. While Antietam may be considered a drawn battle as far as the actual fighting was concerned, it was clearly a Union victory in effect, for Lee had failed to achieve his purposes and had lost thousands of his best troops.

4. *Emancipation*.—President Lincoln now made a masterly move that to a great extent changed the character of the war and deprived the Confederacy of any hope of foreign aid. Late in September, and immediately after Antietam, Lincoln issued his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which was in fact a warning that the negro slaves in all states that should be in rebellion against the government on January 1, 1863, should be forever free. None of the seceded states heeded the warning, so on January 1, 1863, Lincoln issued his Second Emancipation Proclamation, declaring free all slaves held in the seceded states. It must be kept in mind that the president had no power under the Constitution to disturb slavery in states that were not in rebellion against the government. Hence the Emancipation Proclamation was purely a war measure and did not free a single slave in such states as Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, or Delaware. These slaves were later freed through the agencies of the state governments and the Thirteenth Amendment. Furthermore, negro slaves in the seceded states became actually free only as these states were conquered and occupied by the Union forces. Earlier in the war slaves falling into Union hands had been confiscated as contraband of war.

5. *Fredericksburg*.—For what the Administration considered as failure to follow up his advantage and crush Lee's army after Antietam, McClellan was again removed from command. General Burnside was put at the head of the Army of the Potomac. He followed Lee into Virginia, and in a reckless assault on Fredericksburg, suffered one of the severest defeats of the war. Burnside was now superseded by "Fighting Joe" Hooker.

CAMPAIGNS IN THE WEST DURING 1862.

1. *Capture of Forts Donelson and Henry*.—In contrast to the poor showing made against the forces of the Confederacy in the East during 1862, the Union armies in the West made splendid progress.

Under General Halleck, Commander of the Department of the West, General Grant now undertook to break the Confederate line of defense extending from the Mississippi eastward across southern Kentucky. Assisted by a fleet of gunboats, Grant's forces advanced up the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, guarded chiefly by Forts Henry and Donelson. Early in February Fort Henry fell into the Union hands. Grant now moved twelve miles across country to Donelson on the Cumberland. After a sharp engagement he succeeded in nearly surrounding the fort. A fierce counter attack by the Confederate leader, Pillow, only resulted in the line being drawn tighter about Donelson. Gallant charges under Smith and Wallace brought the Union batteries to positions from which they could shell the fort on the inside. Seeing that his position was now untenable, General Buckner surrendered to Grant without waiting for the final assault. Nearly 15,000 Confederates and great quantities of stores thus fell into Union hands and the way was now open into western Tennessee.

2. *Mill Springs.* General Buell with another part of Halleck's force meanwhile moved south from Louisville and occupied Nashville. At Mill Springs in eastern Kentucky a third Union force of 10,000 men under General Thomas defeated several thousand Confederates under Crittenden. This victory opened a way to the relief of the Unionists of eastern Tennessee.

3. *Pittsburg Landing or Shiloh.*—After the fall of Donelson Grant's force moved farther south on the Tennessee. By April he was at Pittsburg Landing, southwest of Nashville, with 40,000 men. While awaiting the arrival of Buell, who was on his way from Nashville, Grant was suddenly attacked by the main Confederate force in the West under General A. S. Johnston. So sudden was the onslaught that the Union forces were hurled back step by step during the whole of the bloody first day's fighting. Darkness at length stopped the battle. The Confederates looked forward with confidence to reopening the engagement at daybreak, despite the loss of their beloved leader, Johnston, who had fallen mortally wounded. During the night, however, circumstances changed to favor Grant. Buell arrived with heavy re-enforcements. The Union troops now forced the fighting and slowly recovered their lost ground. The Confederates looked in vain for Van Dorn who was expected to reinforce them with a large force from west of the Mississippi. The battle of Shiloh was a Union victory but not a decisive one. Grant slowly followed the retiring Confederates to the vicinity of Corinth, in northern Mississippi.

4. *Island No. 10.*—While Grant was making his way through western Tennessee, a force under General Pope was striving to open

the Mississippi river from the north. A short distance below the mouth of the Ohio was a Confederate fortified position known as Island No. 10. After a terrific bombardment from the Union fleet the garrison surrendered on the same day as the battle of Shiloh. The fall of Island No. 10 opened the river to Union shipping as far south as Memphis.

5. *Pea Ridge*.—Early in the spring of 1862 an important engagement occurred at Pea Ridge, Arkansas, between a Union force under General Curtis and a Confederate army under General Van Dorn. The result was a complete Union victory, which determined beyond all question that Missouri should not secede from the Union.

6. *Farragut's Capture of New Orleans*.—Shortly after Pope's capture of Island No. 10 a large fleet under Farragut appeared at the mouth of the Mississippi. On board were nearly 15,000 troops under General Butler, who was to cooperate with Farragut in the taking of New Orleans and the opening of the Mississippi from its mouth. Above Forts Jackson and St. Philip, which guarded the entrance to the river seventy miles below New Orleans, was a large Confederate fleet, consisting of iron clads, gunboats, and various river craft. For nearly a week Farragut bombarded the two forts. During the night of April 24th the whole Union fleet ran past the enemy batteries and destroyed the Confederate fleet which lay between the forts and New Orleans. New Orleans now lay at the mercy of the Union forces. Butler's army, having disposed of the forts bombarded by Farragut, now followed the fleet up the river and took possession of the city. Memphis fell to Union forces in June, and the Mississippi was now open with the exception of a strip of about a hundred miles between Vicksburg and Port Hudson.

7. *Bragg's Raid Across Kentucky*.—General Braxton Bragg had superseded Beauregard as commander of the Confederate armies in the West. Paralleling Lee's first invasion of the North east of the mountains, Bragg in the early autumn of 1862 raided northward through Tennessee and Kentucky in an effort to retrieve some of the losses suffered by the Confederates in those states. Louisville was Bragg's objective but Buell with a Union force reached the city first. The Confederates then began to retire, but they were overtaken by Buell's forces, defeated in a bloody battle at Perryville, and driven from the state.

8. *Iuka and Corinth*.—Grant's force had been inactive in western Tennessee since early in 1862. Corinth was being used as a Union base. A large Confederate force under Price and Van Dorn in September seized Iuka and made a desperate assault on Corinth which

was guarded by 20,000 Union troops under Rosecrans. Rosecrans repulsed the attacks, inflicting heavy losses on the Confederates. Thus was Corinth saved.

9. *Murfreesborough*.—Following his victory at Corinth, Rosecrans was given command of Buell's old force and ordered into Tennessee. With 47,000 troops he reached Murfreesborough where Bragg had his winter quarters. On December 31 the two armies met. There followed one of the most fiercely fought battles of the war. After several days of fighting Bragg was driven from his winter quarters and again the way was open toward eastern Tennessee.

CAMPAIGNS IN THE EAST DURING 1863.

1. *Chancellorsville*.—Early in May, 1863, Hooker, who had spent the preceding winter in reorganizing the Army of the Potomac, again took the field against Lee and Jackson. The two armies met in the Wilderness region of eastern Virginia. Once more the Union army was outgeneraled. Having divided his force of 90,000 men in the face of a much larger Union army, Lee sent Stonewall Jackson on one of his favorite flank movements. Coming up in the rear of Hooker's force, Jackson suddenly attacked with vigor. The Union army was thrown into confusion and one of the most brilliant Confederate victories of the war was won. However, it cost the life of Stonewall Jackson, who toward the close of the fighting was shot by his own men while riding between the lines at dusk.

2. *Lee's Second Invasion of the North*.—Following his great victory at Chancellorsville, Lee again determined to invade the North. This time stern necessity rather than military judgment dictated his course. So tightly was the blockade being drawn around the South, that Lee's army was beginning to feel a shortage in the way of supplies of all kinds. Moreover, things had been going very badly for the Confederacy in the West, where the Union forces had won an almost unbroken series of victories. Unless the Confederates, by a bold stroke, were able to seize some of the rich northern cities, it would only be a question of time until the Union forces would be occupying the very heart of the Confederacy.

Retracing his old route up the Shenandoah Valley, Lee again hurled his splendid army upon the North. The defeated but undaunted Army of the Potomac moved northward east of the Blue Ridge, keeping itself between Lee and Washington. Once more it had changed commanders, and was now led by General Meade. Where a range of the Blue Ridge Mountains terminates, in Adams County, Pennsylvania, the advance guards of the two armies met in the little

village of Gettysburg. The greater part of both armies came up during the night, and Meade, recognizing the natural advantages of the place, determined to make his stand on the low wooded ridges.

3. *The Battle of Gettysburg.*—The Union forces occupied Cemetery Ridge, guarded on the left flank by Big Round Top and Little Round Top, and protected on the right by Culp's Hill. Lee had posted his army in a great semi-circle, chiefly occupying Seminary Ridge. Between the two armies lay a narrow plain in which nestled the village of Gettysburg.

The battle opened July 1, with the chief fighting consisting of terrific artillery bombardment, each army trying to dislodge the other from its position. The second day's fighting consisted of a desperate attempt on the part of Longstreet's division of the Confederates to turn the Union left by the capture of Big Round Top. At the same time other Confederate attacks were made on the Union center and on Culp's Hill. All day the battle raged, and at nightfall the Union army still maintained its position practically unchanged.

Lee was to make one last desperate attempt against the Union line. After the most intense cannonading in the way of preparation, he sent 15,000 of the flower of his army, under General Pickett, to storm the Union center in an effort to split Meade's army. About noon, as the smoke lifted out of the little valley, Pickett's men were seen advancing in a magnificent charge. The Union batteries played havoc in their ranks but on they came. With a last burst of speed they sprang at the Union lines, only to be hurled back with terrible slaughter. Exhausted and broken, the fragments of Pickett's gallant force were swept back across the valley.

Lee and his army could do no more, and a few days later the Confederates began their retreat to the Potomac. The battle of Gettysburg was over and the highwater mark of the rebellion had been reached. Gettysburg settled the fate of the Confederacy, for the waning manpower of the South was unequal to replacing the terrible losses incurred. Lee retired into Virginia, slowly followed by the Union forces.

CAMPAIGNS IN THE WEST DURING 1863.

1. *Capture of Vicksburg.*—In the fall of 1862 Grant turned his attention to Vicksburg, the great Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi. The promotion of Halleck to Commander-in-Chief of the Union armies left Grant in superior command in the West. Weary weeks of maneuvering failed to put him in a position to do any serious damage to the city. Confederate raids on Union supply

depots also delayed the project. The Confederate general Van Dorn captured Holly Springs and burned over a million dollars worth of supplies. At the same time General Forrest cut Grant's communications by a raid into Tennessee.

At length Grant conceived a plan of attack that was destined to bring him success. In the spring of 1863, he moved his troops to the west bank of the river above Vicksburg, marched them south through Arkansas, and again reached the river below Vicksburg. Here he was joined by Porter's fleet, which had run past the forts at night. Porter ferried the army across to the east bank of the river and the combined force captured (May 3) Grand Gulf, a Confederate position guarding one of the approaches to Vicksburg. However, the Union army was still in a critical position. At Vicksburg was General Pemberton with a force nearly as large as Grant's, while at Jackson, Miss., was another smaller Confederate force under General Joseph E. Johnston. These two Confederate armies were trying to effect a junction against Grant. The Union commander now acted quickly. Turning against Johnston, he routed his force in the battle of Raymond. He then turned to meet Pemberton, who was advancing against him. In the battle of Champion Hill Pemberton lost all his artillery and several thousand men, and was forced to shut himself up in Vicksburg. Grant now laid siege to the city. An attempt to carry the works by storm had proved so costly that he had no other course than to adopt the slow process of starving out the enemy. On July 3, while the battle of Gettysburg was raging in the East, Pemberton surrendered his entire force of nearly 40,000 men, together with great quantities of arms and ammunition. Port Hudson surrendered to General Banks a few days later, and the Union task of opening the Mississippi was complete. Thereafter gunboats patrolled the river and prevented any communication between the severed parts of the Confederacy.

2. *Chickamauga and Chattanooga.*—While Grant was attacking Vicksburg, Rosecrans' army was inactive at Murfreesborough with orders to watch Bragg to prevent his giving aid to Pemberton. With the opening of the Mississippi Rosecrans was free to advance on Chattanooga. Grant was now commander of the armies in the West, and meanwhile was moving eastward to join Rosecrans. At Chickamauga Creek on the Georgia-Tennessee border Rosecrans engaged Bragg's force of 70,000 men. Had it not been for the heroic stand of General Thomas, "Rock of Chickamauga," the Union army would have been routed. As it was, Rosecrans found himself cooped up in Chattanooga, cut off from proper supplies.

3. *Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge.*—Late in October Grant arrived at Chattanooga and personally assumed command. Sherman soon brought up Grant's old army, and, in all, the Union forces totalled 80,000 men. Grant was now ready to force the passes in the mountains leading to the East. In November Sherman and Hooker were sent to storm the Confederate position on Lookout Mountain. This the Union troops carried by magnificent charges. The whole Union army was next day centered on the remaining Confederate position on Missionary Ridge. This, too, was carried by storm in the face of heavy fire. Bragg's army now fled in wild disorder and took refuge in the mountains of Georgia. After this campaign about the only territory remaining in the hands of the Confederates was the region east of the mountains.

CAMPAIGN IN THE EAST DURING 1864.

1. *The Wilderness.*—In the spring of 1864 Grant was made Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the United States, with headquarters with Army of the Potomac in northern Virginia. His plan of campaign embodied two great objectives. Sherman was to move against Johnston, who had succeeded Bragg, with Atlanta, Georgia, as his goal. Grant himself was to begin a "hammering" campaign against Richmond, with the purpose of wearing down Lee's army by making him engage at every opportunity. Grant knew that it would only be a question of time before the Union preponderance in men and materials would result in the crushing of the Confederate forces.

With an army double in size to the opposing Confederate force, he crossed the Rapidan in May and entered the Wilderness, near the old battleground of Chancellorsville. Here he was attacked by Lee. For two days the opposing armies waged a hand-to-hand struggle, with little advantage to either side, and with a combined loss of nearly thirty thousand men. Grant then withdrew from the Wilderness, made a hurried movement round the Confederate flank and almost got between Lee and Richmond.

2. *Spottsylvania.*—Lee discovered his danger and retired just in time. The two armies came in contact at Spottsylvania Court House, and here another terrific battle was fought, four days after that of the Wilderness. Hancock flattened a salient in the Confederate line and captured over four thousand of the enemy. In five desperate attempts to retake the position, Lee suffered enormous losses. Spottsylvania brought Grant within twenty miles of Richmond.

3. *Cold Harbor.*—Lee had taken up a very strong position at Cold Harbor. Having no point of attack other than in front, Grant

determined to make an assault, the greatest military blunder of his life. The Union troops were mowed down by thousands. After a fruitless sacrifice of nearly 12,000 men. Grant gave up the attempt. He now changed his base to a point below Petersburg in order to approach Richmond from the South.

4. *Early's Raid up the Shenandoah*.—In the hope of relieving Richmond and Petersburg and of drawing off the Union forces as did Jackson during the Peninsular Campaign, Lee now ordered General Early to threaten Washington by moving up the Shenandoah Valley. Early passed within a few miles of the capital and penetrated as far north as Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. Despite the intense excitement in Washington, Grant refused to be diverted from his objective. Instead, he sent General Sheridan to drive Early out of the Shenandoah. With nearly 40,000 men Sheridan engaged Early in an indecisive battle at Winchester, Virginia. A few weeks later the two armies met again at the same place and this time the Union forces won a clear victory.

5. *Cedar Creek*.—Sheridan then set to work to destroy everything of value in the Valley that would support an army. He laid waste the country to such an extent that further Confederate raids up the Shenandoah were rendered impossible, since the enemy had for months been existing chiefly through foraging the country over which it passed. Meanwhile, Sheridan's main force was encamped at Cedar Creek. In the absence of the Union commander, Early suddenly attacked, with heavy re-enforcements. Thrown into confusion, the Union forces lost their camp and were retreating precipitately when the timely arrival of Sheridan prevented further disaster. Rallying his men, he not only recovered his camp, but drove Early's men headlong down the Valley, practically destroying the Confederate force.

CAMPAIGNS SOUTH OF VIRGINIA DURING 1864.

1. *Advance on Atlanta*.—Simultaneous with Grant's wilderness Campaign, Sherman began his advance upon Atlanta. After having suffered a costly repulse at Kenesaw Mountain, by a series of brilliant flank movements he drove Johnston's army before him, and took one pass after another. General Hood now replaced Johnston in command. In a series of battles near Atlanta, Hood was outfought and outgeneraled to such an extent that he had to abandon the city. Early in September Sherman entered and took possession. The fall of Atlanta was a severe blow to the South, for in that city were located munition and supply factories that had been sustaining the Confederate armies.

2. *Mobile Bay*.—Mobile Bay was the most important harbor on the Gulf coast, and had long been a rendezvous for blockade runners. At length, Admiral Farragut was entrusted with the task of closing this port. In August, with the cooperation of a land force under General Granger, Farragut attacked Forts Gaines and Morgan, which guarded the entrance to the bay. Back of the forts were a mined area and a Confederate fleet under Admiral Buchanan. The Union fleet advanced amid a storm of shot and shell and soon silenced the forts. In a short decisive battle Farragut destroyed the Confederate fleet. The city of Mobile itself remained in Confederate hands for a number of weeks longer, but the great port was now closed to Confederate commerce.

3. *Sherman's March Through Georgia*.—Hoping to draw Sherman away from Atlanta Hood's army moved into Tennessee, but the Union commander merely detached a force under Thomas to follow the Confederates. In November Sherman's main army set out to ravage Georgia between Atlanta and the coast. Moving in four columns, the Union force laid waste a country fifty miles wide and three hundred miles long. Loss of the interior of Georgia was a severe blow to the Confederacy, since it was this section, together with the Carolinas, upon which Lee depended to furnish the food upon which his army subsisted. Upon the approach of the Federal troops Savannah was evacuated and late in December Sherman occupied the city.

4. *Destruction of Hood's Army*.—Hood had gone into Tennessee with 50,000 men, while opposed to him was Thomas with less than 30,000. Thomas received re-enforcements at Nashville and there awaited Hood. In the ensuing battles of Franklin and Nashville Hood's army was practically destroyed, being scattered so widely that it was never reorganized. This defeat suffered by the Confederates was perhaps the most decisive of the war.

5. *Confederate Commerce Destroyers*.—No account of the Civil War is complete without some attention being given to the work of the Confederate commerce destroyers. Great Britain's sympathy for the Confederacy influenced her to fit out in British waters a number of cruisers designed to destroy Union commerce. Among the most famous of these ships were the *Alabama*, the *Florida*, and the *Shenandoah*. These English-built ships were manned by Confederate officers and men. After two years of preying on merchantmen, during which time she destroyed ten million dollars' worth of property, the *Alabama* was at last sunk off Cherbourg, France, 1864, by the U. S. S. *Kearsarge*, Capt. Winslow. The career of the *Alabama* is typical of a

score or more of Confederate raiders, some of which remained active for several months after the cessation of hostilities. The damage inflicted by these ships became the subject of serious controversy between the United States and Great Britain, which was finally settled by a court of arbitration in Grant's administration.

CONCLUDING EVENTS OF THE WAR (1865).

1. *Grant Closes in on Richmond.*—The spring of 1865 opened with Grant's army before Petersburg ready to crush out what little life remained in the Confederacy. Lee despaired of holding Richmond but delayed his evacuation of the city in the hope that Johnston might be able to join him from the Carolinas. In the meantime, Sheridan, having disposed of Early's Confederate force in the Shenandoah, closed in on Richmond from the west. When close to Richmond Sheridan met a strong Confederate force under General Pickett. Here occurred the battle of Five Forks, in which Sheridan utterly routed the Confederates. On the following day Grant carried the works at Petersburg by assault. Lee had now no course open but to evacuate the capital.

2. *Sherman's Move Northward Through the Carolinas.*—Following the capture of Savannah, Sherman moved northward along the coast with a view to joining Grant before Richmond. He endeavored to keep continually between Johnston and Lee in order that the former, who had a small force in the Carolinas, might not aid in the defense of Richmond. Early in January a strong naval force under Admiral Porter, assisted by a land force under General Terry, in a desperate engagement captured Fort Fisher, which guarded Wilmington, N. C. With the fall of Fort Fisher, the last open port of the Confederacy fell into Union hands. On the approach of Sherman Charleston was abandoned. The fleeing Confederates first set fire to the great stores of cotton, and the flames spread until much of the city was laid in ruins. Columbia was occupied in February and Goldsboro in March.

3. *Surrender at Appomattox.*—Lee had hoped to escape to the mountains of southwestern Virginia with part of his force. He knew that in that rugged country he could prolong the struggle for a considerable period. Having abandoned the capital, the Confederate army was retiring rapidly toward Lynchburg when Lee found Sheridan barring his way. Grant's army was in hot pursuit. Unwilling to sacrifice more lives uselessly, Lee now asked for terms of surrender for his starving army. On April 9 he surrendered his entire force at Appomattox Court House.

A few days later Johnston surrendered his army to Sherman near the North Carolina-Virginia line. The Confederacy had fallen and the Civil War was at an end.

4. *The Thirteenth Amendment.*—In 1865 the Constitution was amended to prohibit forever slavery in the United States. Nearly all slaves had gained their freedom prior to this, but the amendment guaranteed their freedom in the future.

5. *Assassination of Lincoln.*—Hardly had the war ended when the nation was shocked to learn of the murder of the President. Lincoln had been re-elected in 1864 and had served but a few weeks of his second term. While attending a performance at Ford's Theatre in Washington, he was shot by John Wilkes Booth, an actor.

No section suffered as greatly by the death of the President as did the South. Had Lincoln lived, the people of the seceded states would, in all probability, have been spared much of the hardship incident to Reconstruction and carpetbag rule.

The death of Lincoln left the Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, to succeed him in office. Johnson, a Tennessean, had been chosen because he was one of the few Southern members of Congress to remain staunchly loyal to the Union. He had little fitness for the Presidency, particularly in the face of the gigantic tasks confronting him.

ANDREW JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

1865-1869.

1. *Maximilian Affair in Mexico.*

During the Civil War an attempt was made by the French government to conquer Mexico, in violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Under pretense of collecting a debt due France, a French army was dispatched to Mexico. The Republic was overthrown and Maximilian, archduke of Austria, was made head of the new Mexican monarchy. Maximilian held his throne under protection of the French army. In 1863 the French were warned against their action. At the close of the war, however, the soldiers of France were still in Mexico. Secretary Seward now boldly demanded the withdrawal of the troops and at the same time sent a force of 50,000 men under Sheridan to the Texan border. The French army was quickly recalled, but Maximilian, believing that he had won the confidence of the Mexican people, remained as emperor. To his surprise the Mexicans immediately rose in revolt and his government was soon overthrown. In 1867 Maximilian was executed.

2. *Plans for Reconstruction in the South.*

(a) *The Presidential Theory.*—That the Southern states had the right to send members to Congress as soon as the President considered the states properly penitent, since a state could not by right secede, and therefore had never been out of the Union. This was the view held by Lincoln and later, in a modified form, advanced by Johnson.

(b) *The State Suicide Theory.*—That by the act of secession the states lost statehood, and thereby became territories, to be governed by Congress.

(c) *The Forfeited Rights Theory.*—That the states were still in the Union, but through traitorous acts of the community as a whole, had made themselves subject to punishment which would reach them as states.

(d) *The Conquered Province Theory.*—That the South was a subjugated region with which Congress could deal exactly as though it were a part of a conquered foreign territory. This view was held by Thaddeus Stevens, Republican leader in the House.

(e) *The Congressional Plan.*—Reconstruction as finally brought about by Congress was a modification of the above-mentioned plans. It provided that the seceded states, before they could come back into the Union, must frame new constitutions, must give the negro the right to vote, and must ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, which gave him the rights of citizenship. In the meantime the South was divided into five military districts, with martial rule supplanting the civil government. Troops were to be kept in the districts until the states were readmitted. The process of reconstruction was necessarily slow and was not completed until Hayes's Administration. In the meantime the negro was exercising his new privilege of voting and under the influence of unscrupulous Northern politicians, called Carpetbaggers, had in a number of instances secured virtual control of the state governments. Many of the prominent whites in the South were still disfranchised. In order to protect themselves against the evils of negro domination, these former slaveholders organized a secret society, known as the Klu Klux Klan. Playing as it did upon the fears and superstitions of the negroes, the Klu Klux proved instrumental in preventing crime and in keeping the former slaves within bounds.

3. *The Tenure of Office Act.*

President Johnson wished to apply Lincoln's theory of Reconstruction, with certain modifications of his own that would exclude from a share in the state governments a large part of the former slaveholding element, in order that the Southern whites of the lower classes

might have more privileges. The tactless way in which he tried to carry out his ideas brought him immediately into conflict with Congress. So bitter did the controversy grow that Congress, hoping to entrap the President, enacted the Tenure of Office Act, which prohibited the President's removing any member of his Cabinet without first gaining the consent of the Senate.

4. *Impeachment of Johnson.*

Johnson ignored the Tenure of Office Act and soon summarily dismissed Secretary of War Stanton. This was the opportunity that Congress had been seeking. Impeachment proceedings were immediately instituted. Under the Constitution the right of impeachment rests with the House while the Senate tries all such cases. The great trial lasted for weeks and was watched with breathless interest, for if Johnson were convicted, he would be removed from office. The final vote was taken in May, 1868, and it was found that the President had escaped removal by an extremely narrow margin. In fact, one additional vote against him would have convicted.

5. *Purchase of Alaska.*

In 1867 Secretary of State Seward completed negotiations with Russia that acquired for us the vast territory of Alaska. At the time the purchase price of \$7,200,000 was considered excessive by many. It is probable that Seward was influenced in acquiring the region both by a desire to show gratitude for Russia's friendly attitude to the United States during the Civil War, and by his farsightedness in realizing the future value of that supposedly barren region.

6. *First Successful Atlantic Cable.*

The first really successful Atlantic cable was laid by Cyrus Field in 1866. Field had laid a cable between the British Isles and America as early as 1858, but it remained in operation only a few days. War conditions then prevented another attempt until Johnson's Administration.

7. *Union Pacific Railroad.*

During the Civil War work was begun on the first trans-continental railroad, connecting California with lines already built as far west as Omaha. This great engineering project was pushed steadily during Johnson's term and reached completion under Grant in 1869. No other factor contributed as greatly to the development of the Far West as did this railroad and other similar lines.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF ULYSSES S. GRANT.
1869-1877.

1. *The Fifteenth Amendment.*

In the election of 1868 Grant won easily over Horatio Seymour, the Democratic candidate. Reconstruction was still under way in the Southern states. In 1870, by the Fifteenth Amendment, the negro was given the right of suffrage.

2. *The Alabama Controversy.*

Despite the strong protests of our minister, Charles Francis Adams, Great Britain had given direct aid to the Confederacy during the Civil War by allowing Confederate commerce destroyers to be fitted out in her ports. For several years after the war, the United States government was unable to secure satisfactory reparation for damage done to Union shipping by these raiders. Finally, a change in ministry in England brought into power a political party favorable to American interests. In 1871 a Joint High Commission drew up an agreement known as the Treaty of Washington, in which a way was provided for the settlement of the Alabama Controversy, as well as for the adjustment of certain boundary and fishing disputes between the two countries.

By the Treaty of Washington it was agreed that the matter of the Alabama claims should be settled by an international arbitration tribunal to meet in Switzerland. The tribunal consisted of a representative from each of the following countries—the United States, Great Britain, Switzerland, Italy and Brazil. This arbitration court met at Geneva in 1872 and after several weeks of debate awarded the United States damages to the amount of \$15,000,000 for violation of the neutrality laws on the part of Great Britain.

As further provided by the Treaty of Washington the dispute between the United States and Great Britain over the Northwest boundary was decided by the German Emperor, as arbiter. This decision was also favorable to the United States and by it we acquired a group of islands in Puget Sound.

A third arbitration commission in 1877 took up the question of privileges claimed by American fishermen on the coast of Canada. This matter of fishing rights was decided against the United States, and was settled by our paying a sum of \$5,500,000.

3. *The Virginius Affair.*

In 1873, the steamer *Virginius*, carrying arms to the Cuban revolutionists, was captured on the high seas by a Spanish cruiser and a number of Americans were put to death. A recognition of the bellig-

erency of the Cuban revolutionists and perhaps war with Spain were only averted by Spain's agreeing to pay an indemnity to the families of the dead Americans.

4. *Exploration in the Southwest.*

In 1869 Major Powell completed a remarkable and dangerous exploring trip down the Colorado river. In specially constructed boats Powell and a few companions drifted through the unknown region of the Grand Canyon and emerged safely at the head of the Gulf of California.

5. *The Panic of 1873.*

During the decade following the Civil War nearly 40,000 miles of railroad were built. This rapid business expansion together with a period of fierce speculation, accompanied by heavy business losses through the Chicago and Boston fires, was perhaps the chief factor in causing the wide-spread business depression that swept over the country in 1873. The failure of the great banking house of Jay Cooke and Company precipitated commercial failures totaling nearly a quarter of a billion dollars.

During the latter part of Grant's second term the country rapidly recovered from the effects of the panic. Business confidence was restored when in 1875 an act of Congress paved the way for the resumption of specie payment. For a decade the paper currency of the Civil War period had been slowly rising to its face value.

6. *Political Corruption.*

Grant was a soldier, not a politician. Under the cloak of his well-known honesty, fraud and corruption in public office flourished to probably a greater extent than at any other time in the history of the United States. Never before had opportunities for graft been so great as during the Reconstruction period; contracts for supplies of all kinds proved gold mines to the unscrupulous. The famous "Tweed Ring" of New York City stole millions from the taxpayers. Secretary of War Belknap was found to be selling, for his personal gain, the privileges to trade at army posts. A Whisky Ring, consisting of distillers and dishonest revenue agents, defrauded the government of millions of dollars by means of false accounts. Members of Congress were taking bribes of all kinds, particularly from the Credit Mobilier, a corporation building the Union Pacific Railroad.

Such disgraceful conditions gave rise to a reform movement in the Republican party which demanded civil service reform, a lowering of the protective tariff by which a few manufacturers were enriching themselves at the cost of the people, and the end of military and ear-

pet-bag control in the South. Calling themselves Liberal Republicans, this reform branch of the Republican party might have defeated Grant in the election of 1872 had they not chosen Horace Greeley for their candidate. The Democrats supported Greeley but he was too weak a choice to be acceptable to the country at large. Consequently Grant was re-elected by an overwhelming majority.

Grant had induced Congress to pass a civil service act in 1871, but its passage was intended merely as a sop to the good will of the President, for the Republican leaders had no intention of enforcing the act and soon made it a dead letter by cutting off the necessary appropriations.

7. *Indian Wars.*

The government's dealings with the Indians were so marked by dishonesty during these administrations that serious uprisings occurred at a number of points in the West. The Modoc Indians of California killed peace commissioners sent to treat with them, fled to the lava bed region in the northern part of the state, and there for months held off all government forces sent against them.

In 1876 war occurred with the powerful Sioux tribes of Dakota, Montana and Wyoming. Under the able leadership of Sitting Bull, the Indians entrapped General Custer with a force of about 200 cavalrymen. In what is known as the Battle of the Big Horn, Custer's entire force was wiped out before aid could reach him. With the coming of a strong military force the Indian uprising subsided, many of the savages fleeing across the Canadian border.

8. *Hayes-Tilden Controversy.*

The election of 1876 resulted in practically a tie between Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican candidate, and Samuel J. Tilden, the Democratic candidate. Tilden received the greatest number of popular votes, and needed the total of 185 electoral votes to win. He secured 184 of these with the returns not in from three doubtful states, South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana. In Louisiana Tilden apparently had a lead of several thousand votes. However, the unsettled condition of these Reconstructed states and the large negro vote undoubtedly resulted in fraud, probably on both sides. The Republicans, being in power, had a great advantage in deciding upon the validity of the returns from the doubtful states. The Democrats finally conceded South Carolina and Florida to the Republicans, but naturally claimed Louisiana, where the returns showed a substantial majority for Tilden. But charges of fraud were made by both sides, and the election was finally left to Congress to decide. The Senate

being Republican and the House Democratic, a deadlock again occurred, neither side being willing to give way. It was then decided to leave the decision to an Electoral Commission, to consist of fifteen members, five of these from the House, five from the Senate, and five from the Supreme Court. Seven members were Republicans and seven were Democrats; the fifteenth member was an Independent. However, the Independent member died before the commission met and his successor proved to be a Republican. The decision was then made on a purely partisan basis and Hayes was declared elected by a vote of 8 to 7.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES' ADMINISTRATION. 1877-1881.

I. *Industrial Changes.*

Due to the election dispute of 1876, President Hayes found himself under a heavy handicap when he took office. A large percentage of the voters of the country were still under the conviction that Tilden had unjustly been deprived of the Presidency. Particularly was Hayes condemned for the conciliatory attitude toward the South that led him to remove the troops from that section, and for his honest and well-meant attempts to reform the corrupt Republican party machine. In the decade following the Civil War a gradual change had been taking place in industrial, commercial and labor fields, owing to the formation of labor unions, improved methods of manufacturing, and better trade facilities. This period marks the beginning of the conflict between labor and capital that has left its impress on American history to the present time. The Panic of 1873 with its resultant period of business depression and hard times made pronounced the unrest of the working classes and strengthened the labor unions. Labor now began to agitate for definite reforms. Demands were made for a shorter working day, for the exclusion of Chinese labor, for government supervision of industry, for fewer land grants to railroads and other corporations, for an income tax, for new currency legislation, and for a national Department of Labor. Parallel to the rise of the power of labor was the development of the great corporations. These corporations frequently secured monopolies in various lines of business. The Standard Oil Company, the Pennsylvania Railroad, the great express companies, and scores of other corporations attained national importance through expansion, consolidation, stock manipulation, etc. The Greenback-Labor party was exercising tremendous influence in the state and congressional elections. This pronounced movement along industrial and labor lines belongs properly to no one

Administration, but it serves to point out some of the difficult problems that confronted Hayes and his successors for the next quarter of a century.

The question of Chinese labor received much attention in Hayes' Administration. By the Burlingame Treaty of 1868, the Chinese immigrant had been accorded the same privileges in the United States that were enjoyed by other foreigners. The influx of cheap coolie labor soon grew so alarming, however, that by 1877, a strong coast ment was set on foot to protect American labor on the Pacific coast by the exclusion of this undesirable element. Hayes sent a commission to China to prepare the way for a treaty that would restrict Mongolian immigration. This was the beginning of negotiations that led to a Chinese exclusion act a few years later.

2. *Bland-Allison Silver Act.*

Prior to Hayes' term very little silver had been coined at the United States mints. The government had for years, however, offered to accept silver for coinage on a basis of 16 to 1, or 16 ounces of silver to be exchanged for one ounce of gold. Since jewelers and manufacturers were ready to pay a slightly higher price for silver it was natural that the producers of this metal should prefer to dispose of their product in the open market. Following 1873, however, enormous deposits of silver were discovered in the far West. The market was now flooded and the metal began rapidly to depreciate in value. Anxious to maintain prices, the silver mine owners of the West again turned to the government, demanding a resumption of silver coinage. A bill prepared by Representative Bland of Missouri and Senator Allison of Iowa now came up in Congress, providing that the government purchase not less than \$2,000,000 worth nor more than \$4,000,000 worth of silver each month. In 1878 the Bland-Allison bill passed Congress and, despite Hayes' veto, became a law.

3. *Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Strike.*

In 1877 employees of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad went on strike and tied up a large part of the trade east of the Mississippi. Sympathetic strikes in various other industries followed, creating widespread disorder. Millions of dollars' worth of railroad and other property was destroyed. The state authorities proved powerless to cope with the situation, and eventually United States troops had to be called to restore order. These strikes were the first of a series of similar events attendant upon the efforts of the labor unions to secure recognition from the corporations during the next forty years.

4. *The Election of 1880.*

At the Republican Convention at Chicago the names of both Grant and Blaine came up for the Presidency. Grant was being "boomed" for a third term by the Republican regulars, while Blaine's claims were supported by an equally strong opposition element in the party. After thirty-five ballots had been taken without a choice, it was evident that neither Grant nor Blaine could be nominated. Finally there was a stampede to the support of the delegates pledged to James A. Garfield of Ohio. He was not the choice of the party as a whole, but was merely on the crest of the popular wave when the break occurred. In the face of a united Democratic party, the warring factions were forced to accept Garfield as their candidate. The Democrats at their convention chose General Hancock. The results of the election showed that Garfield had received 214 electoral votes to Hancock's 155.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GARFIELD AND ARTHUR. 1881-1885.

1. *Assassination of Garfield.*

A plank in the Republican platform in 1880 had declared for civil service reform. It was generally believed that the party would redeem its pledges by effective legislation along that line, so, in probably what would be their last opportunity to avail themselves of the spoils system, the office-hungry Republicans besieged the President in an exceptionally wild scramble for places. Garfield's independence in the matter of appointments, therefore, attracted the enmity of many of these disappointed office-seekers. One of these, a man named Guiteau, shot down the President a few months after his inauguration, as he was about to board a train in Union Station, Washington. Several weeks later the President died from the effects of the wound. Chester A. Arthur, the Vice-President, was immediately sworn into office. The remainder of the term, under Arthur, is marked by few great or stirring events.

2. *The Pendleton Civil Service Act.*

The assassination of President Garfield had thoroughly aroused the country to the need of a radical change in the selection of the government employees. In 1883 Congress passed the Pendleton Civil Service Bill, whereby candidates for many of the government positions were selected by competitive examination, and were to hold their places regardless of changing administrations. Furthermore, office-holders were not to be subjected to assessment for campaign purposes,

as had been the practice in the past. Successive presidents thereafter have greatly enlarged the list of employees affected by the civil service system until today a great majority of the employees of the government hold their positions on merit alone.

3. *The Edmunds Act.*

The practice of polygamy by the Mormons in the Territory of Utah had become so objectionable that at last Congress took measures to abolish it. The Edmunds Act was supplemented by more drastic anti-polygamy legislation in Cleveland's administration. The Mormon church withdrew its sanction of the practice, and in 1896 Utah was admitted to Statehood.

4. *Chinese Exclusion Act.*

In this administration the admission to this country of Chinese laborers, was suspended for a period of ten years. From time to time other acts directed at Chinese immigration have effectively served to bar this undesirable class.

5. *Tariff of 1883.*

By 1883 the revenues of the country had swelled to such an extent that it was thought desirable to lower the tariff. An act was passed but failed to reduce the surplus. The question of free trade or protection now became increasingly important as the United States began to make enormous strides in foreign trade development.

6. *The Election of 1884.*

In the election of 1884 the Republican candidate was James G. Blaine of Maine, who had been Garfield's Secretary of State, and the Democratic candidate was Grover Cleveland of New York. A number of Republicans who had declared in favor of civil service reform were warmly opposed to the nomination of Blaine. This branch of the Republican party was known as "Mugwumps." Owing to the fact that the Mugwumps, or Independent Republicans, cast their votes for Cleveland, the election of 1884 gave Cleveland a small majority. Thus the party that had been in power for a quarter of a century lost its supremacy and the first Democratic president since the Civil War came into office.

CLEVELAND'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

1885-1889.

A Republican majority in the Senate served to prevent Cleveland from carrying out Democratic party pledges. Particularly, was the President unable to secure legislation along the lines of tariff reduction. He was convinced that the best way to reduce the government's surplus revenue was to lower the tariff. His independence and determination inevitably brought him into conflict with Congress. But the great corporations, or "Trusts" as they were beginning to be called, had prospered under high protective tariff and now exerted enough influence to maintain this high tariff against the President's vigorous efforts.

1. *The Presidential Succession Law.*

In 1886 an act was passed providing for succession to the presidency in the event of the death or disability of the President and Vice-President. The various Cabinet officers were to become President in the order in which the Cabinet officers had been created. This order was as follows: Secretary of State, Secretary of Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney-General, Postmaster-General, Secretary of the Navy, Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor.

2. *Repeal of Tenure of Office Act.*

In the same year in which the Presidential Succession Law was passed Congress repealed the unjust Tenure of Office Act, which had been passed in Johnson's administration and for the violation of which he had been impeached. Cleveland believed firmly that the act was unconstitutional and its repeal is due chiefly to his determined stand in the matter.

3. *Labor Troubles.*

The struggle between capital and labor grew in bitterness during this administration, and destructive strikes doubled in number. The most serious of these disorders occurred during an anarchists' meeting in Haymarket Square, Chicago. The explosion of a bomb caused the death of several persons and the injury of scores. Cleveland, in an effort to remedy the labor troubles recommended the creation of a national labor commission with power to settle controversies. Congress, however, failed to take action in the matter.

4. *The Interstate Commerce Commission.*

Throughout the West there had grown up a strong sentiment in favor of restricting the great railroad corporations in the exercise of their monopolies. Extortion and discrimination were so widespread

that Congress was forced to a party recognition of public sentiment in the matter. Under the Constitution Congress has power to regulate commerce between states. In 1887 the Interstate Commerce Act was passed, which forbade discrimination in rates, prohibited the "pooling" of traffic, required the railroads to file their tariffs for public inspection, and provided that railroad cases be tried in federal court. The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, while in many respects a dead letter that failed to remedy the situation, was valuable in that it furnished a basis for very effective supplementary measures such as the Hepburn Rate Act of Roosevelt's administration and other control acts passed during Taft's term.

5. *The Election of 1888.*

In the campaign of 1888 the question of the tariff overshadowed all other considerations. The Republicans nominated Benjamin Harrison, grandson of the former Whig president, and placed their hopes in a protection platform. The Democrats renominated Cleveland. In the election Harrison received a majority of the electoral votes despite Cleveland's 100,000 plurality. The factors contributing most to the Democratic defeat were Cleveland's loss of the support of the Civil War veterans by his veto of a number of pension bills and by his order restoring to the South captured Confederate flags, and his loss of the pivotal state of New York on the question of the tariff. However, his fearless discharge of his duties as chief executive, his able handling of the problems that confronted him and his courageous attitude on the question of civil service, the trusts, and the tariff, had won him a large measure of respect throughout the country, as evidenced by his large plurality. All this contributed to restore him to office later.

In the election of 1888 the Australian system of secret balloting was first used.

BENJAMIN HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

1889-1893.

1. *The McKinley Tariff Act.*

One of the earliest acts of President Harrison's administration was the passage of the McKinley Tariff Bill, providing a high protective tariff. The Democrats in the election of 1888 had stood for tariff for revenue only. The McKinley tariff was the redemption of party promises and pledges on the part of the Republicans. By the tariff of 1883 the average duties were placed at about 45%. The McKinley tariff raised these duties to approximately 50%.

2. *Pension Act.*

Since the Republicans owed their victory in 1888 largely to the vote of former Union soldiers, action was at once taken on the pension question. In 1890 an act was passed whereby the pension outlay leaped to nearly \$150,000,000 a year. Aid was not only given to former soldiers but to the dependents of these also.

3. *The Sherman Silver Law.*

In Harrison's administration the Bland-Allison silver law was repealed and the Sherman silver act substituted. The latter act provided for the purchase each month of 4,500,000 ounces of silver at the market price. For each gold dollar's worth of silver purchased an equivalent amount in treasury notes should be issued and these notes should be legal tender for all debts. This law had been urged by the silver interests in the West, because silver was still depreciating in value despite the Bland-Allison law passed several years before. The effect of the Sherman law was to increase the circulation of money, but it, also, failed to raise the price of silver or even to maintain the price at its former level.

4. *The Sherman Anti-Trust Act.*

In 1890 the Sherman anti-Trust law was passed, making illegal all contracts to create monopolies in restraint of competition. This law, however, was not enforced to any great extent until more recent administrations. A number of supplementary measures were enacted under Roosevelt and prosecution was then begun for violations of the Sherman anti-trust law.

5. *Rise of the Speakership.*

It was during Harrison's administration that the speakership of the House of Representatives became, under Speaker Thomas B. Reed, a position of exceptional power through the adoption of new and stringent rules intended to expedite the legislation of the party majority in the House. From this time on the power of the speaker grew steadily until Taft's administration when the climax was reached under Speaker Joseph Cannon. A revolt on the part of members of the House at that time stripped the Speaker of much of his power.

6. *Samoaan Affair.*

A number of immigrants from the United States living in the Samoan Islands in the South Pacific had asked that the islands be annexed to this country. Their request was not entirely granted, but treaties were made with Great Britain and Germany whereby the

three nations were to exercise joint control over the islands. In 1889 the United States had difficulty with Germany over the matter of a deposed native ruler. The German government evidently intended to oust America and Great Britain. Affairs assumed a critical aspect and each nation sent warships to the islands. An actual clash was probably only prevented by a terrific gale which scattered the ships. The delay enabled the United States and Germany to reach an agreement. It was arranged that joint control be abandoned and that the islands be divided among the three nations. Great Britain disposed of her interests to Germany. The United States acquired the islands of Rose, Tutuila, and Manua, with the excellent harbor of Pago Pago.

7. *Bering Sea Controversy.*

Trouble between the United States and Great Britain over the seal fishing rights in the Bering Sea was settled in 1892 by an arbitration court, which met in Paris. The United States lost on every point of contention and was forced to pay damages for the seizure of eight British sealing vessels.

8. *Trouble with Chili.*

In 1891 a number of American sailors from the U. S. S. *Albatross*, were assaulted and several killed by a mob in the streets of Valparaiso, Chili. The demands of our government for an apology and reparation were for a long time ignored. Finally the payment of an indemnity by Chili averted war.

9. *Labor Troubles.*

Labor disorders continued from Cleveland's administration and led to strikes and riots throughout the East. The most noted of these were the Homestead Riots in the coal regions of Pennsylvania. Most of these revolts were quelled by state militia, but in a few instances federal troops were called out.

10. *Hawaii.*

In January 1893 a revolution occurred in the Hawaiian Islands. The native queen was deposed and a provisional government set up through the aid of Americans living in the Islands. A treaty of annexation was submitted to the Senate, but it was speedily withdrawn by Cleveland when he came into office for his second term. Cleveland believed that annexation was the will of a few Americans rather than the sentiment of the people of the islands as a whole.

11. *World's Fair at Chicago.*

In 1893 the most famous of our great world expositions opened at Chicago, marking the three hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. Formal opening occurred after Cleveland's inauguration.

12. *Oklahoma.*

Most of the best government land open for settlement had been exhausted by 1889. In that year Congress opened for settlement the region of Oklahoma, purchased from the Indians in Indian Territory. A great rush of homesteaders poured into the country and within a few weeks of its opening there had grown up several towns of considerable size.

13. *Election of 1892.*

The Republican party renominated Harrison, but Blaine was still the favorite with a great many members of the party. Cleveland was again the choice of the Democrats. A third party appeared in the election and polled over 1,000,000 votes. This was the People's, or Populist party, made up chiefly of voters from the West and from the labor element of the country. Cleveland was elected by a strong majority, and not only was a Democratic House re-elected but the Republicans lost their long control of the Senate. For the first time since the Civil War a Democratic administration had a majority in both branches of Congress.

CLEVELAND'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION. 1893-1897.

1. *Panic of 1893.*

A period of financial depression due to the unsettled business conditions throughout the country as a result of the hoarding of gold by the people, the uncertainty about silver, over-production, and other less tangible causes.

2. *Repeal of the Sherman Silver Law.*

In an effort to relieve the widespread business depression felt all over the country in 1893, the President secured a repeal of the Sherman Silver Act, under whose provisions the purchase of silver was draining the treasury of its gold surplus. This anti-silver legislation greatly strengthened the Populist party in the West.

3. *Wilson-Gorman Tariff.*

With a Democratic majority in Congress, Cleveland set about carrying out the party pledges for a reduction in the tariff. Representative Wilson of West Virginia introduced a bill providing for the removal of all duties on raw materials and for a material reduction on many manufactured articles. The bill easily passed the House, but in the Senate, under the leadership of Gorman of Maryland, the Wilson measure was changed beyond recognition by hundreds of amendments

in the interest of the powerful coal, sugar, iron and lumber companies, until the average of the duties was only slightly below that of the McKinley Tariff. Against the protests of the President, the House finally agreed to the measure in its amended form. Cleveland promptly refused to sign the bill, but it soon was made law over his veto. The influence of the "Trusts" had defeated all attempts to break down protective tariff. The tariff measure carried with it a provision for an income tax, which, however, was later declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

4. *The Pullman Strike in Chicago.*

A cut in the wages of the Pullman Car Company's employees was followed by a strike. The American Railway Union, of which the Pullman employees were members, now forbade its men to handle Pullman cars on the railroads. The strike grew in violence. Terrible rioting and destruction of property occurred at Chicago, and the United States mail ceased to move, and in many instances was destroyed when strikers burned railroad property. The Illinois officials were doing little to break up the disorder, so President Cleveland ordered federal troops to the scene. These soon had the situation in hand, but Cleveland was bitterly censured for his action by many, particularly the Populist element in the West and the labor adherents.

5. *The Venezuela Affair.*

Great Britain and Venezuela were engaged in dispute over the boundaries of British Guiana and Venezuela. Preparations were made to send British troops to South America to occupy the region in question. Cleveland through Secretary of State Olney called the attention of the English government to the fact that this action would be in violation of the Monroe Doctrine, and insisted that the difficulty be settled by arbitration. Great Britain refused, whereupon Cleveland sent what practically amounted to an ultimatum. The people of England awoke to the seriousness of the situation and war was averted by the prime minister's reluctantly consenting to submit the British claims to arbitration. Months later an arbitration court convened in Paris and gave a verdict sustaining Great Britain in her boundary claims, on the ground that fifty years' actual possession of a district constitutes a national title.

6. *Campaign and Election of 1896.*

As the presidential election of 1896 approached it became evident that the question of the free coinage of silver would become uppermost. The Republicans began to drift toward the gold standard, while the Democrats took the opposite course. The Republican convention

met in St. Louis and chose as a candidate William McKinley of Ohio, on a platform advocating gold standard, protective tariff, reciprocity, a Nicaraguan canal under American ownership, annexation of Hawaii, and the purchase of the Danish West Indies.

The Democratic convention was held in Chicago. Free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1, was made the chief plank in the party's platform. William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska was nominated for the presidency. The Populist party indorsed Bryan and cast its votes for him at the election. When the returns came in after November 3, it was found that the Republicans had won a comparatively easy victory. McKinley carried all of the most important eastern and northern states, receiving 271 electoral votes to Bryan's 176.

WILLIAM McKINLEY'S ADMINISTRATION.

1897-1901

1. *Dingley Tariff Act.*

Although the tariff had played little part in the election of 1896, President McKinley called an extra session of Congress early in 1897 in order that tariff measures might be enacted. Congress at this session, passed the Dingley Tariff, which restored, and even raised somewhat, the scale of duties provided by the McKinley Tariff, passed during Harrison's administration.

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR (1898).

1. CAUSES.

After the termination of the Cuban insurrection in 1878, Cuba quickly recovered prosperity until the island had an export trade of a hundred million dollars a year, most of it with the United States. The Spanish, however, considered the native Cubans inferiors, taxes were high, and the island was, as far as possible, in its trade under the control of the Spanish merchants. Another insurrection broke out in 1895, aided by the Junta, a body of wealthy Cubans in the United States, which sent many filibustering expeditions, with arms, supplies, and men for the insurgents. In attempting to put down the revolt, the Spanish government exercised the utmost cruelty. "Reconcentrado" camps were established into which were crowded the families of the revolutionists and other non-combatants. These unfortunates were allowed to die of disease and starvation by the thousands. The United States sent a commission to investigate conditions in Cuba, and its report portrayed a situation even worse than had been expected. Hundreds of Americans in Cuba were in jeopardy and millions of dollars' worth of American property was being destroyed. Strained

relations between the United States and Spain developed rapidly. In February, 1898, the U. S. S. *Maine*, while in Cuban waters to protect American interests, was blown up in Havana harbor, with the loss of 266 of her crew. An investigation did not bring out the exact cause of the disaster, but there was a widespread feeling in the United States that the Spanish government was responsible. Uncontrollable war spirit swept the country and led to Congress's authorizing the President to use the army and navy of the United States to force Spain to relinquish all control of Cuba. The United States went to war April 19, 1898, having pledged itself by the Teller Resolution, to leave the government and control of the island of Cuba to its own people once it should have been wrested from Spanish control. The sinking of the *Maine* only precipitated the conflict; the real cause of the war was Spain's years of misgovernment and cruelty in administering affairs in Cuba.

2. PROGRESS OF THE WAR.

(a) *War in the Philippines.*—At the outbreak of the war Commodore Dewey with a fleet of United States warships was at Hong-kong, China. He sailed immediately to engage the Spanish fleet in the Philippines. On May 1, 1898, Dewey won the famous battle of Manila Bay, having completely destroyed, without the loss of a single man, the Spanish fleet under Admiral Montejó.

Dewey now anchored his fleet off the city of Manila, where he was joined a few weeks later by a transport fleet bearing a small American army under General Wesley Merritt. Aided by the forces of the native chieftain, Aguinaldo, the Americans captured Manila in August. Thus the Philippines, Spain's most valuable insular possession in the East fell into the hands of the United States.

(b) *Naval and Militia Campaigns in the West Indies.*—Meanwhile, the United States was waging a military and naval war against the Spaniards in Cuba. Unlike the Navy Department, the War Department at the beginning of hostilities was in a deplorable state of unreadiness to conduct the war. Organized to care for our very small standing army of peace times, it possessed wholly inadequate facilities for provisioning, clothing, arming and training the large volunteer force that responded to the President's call. As a result mobilization was accomplished only after many delays, blunders and mishaps. Tampa, Florida, was made a concentration point for men and supplies destined for Cuba. At length 16,000 troops were embarked, on improvised transports, for the vicinity of Santiago, which was held by a strong Spanish force. For some weeks past, a fleet under Admiral Sampson, had been blockading the Cuban coast, and had bottled up in

the harbor of Santiago, a small Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera.

The force of 16,000 troops under General Shafter was landed on the Cuban coast about fifteen miles from Santiago, and at once began its march through a rugged and densely wooded country toward that city. The enemy was first encountered at Las Guasimas, where an American force of a thousand men drove out a Spanish force far superior in point of numbers. The troops now moved on to El Caney, a fortified town near Santiago. After a short siege, the works were finally carried by storm, and a number of prisoners taken. On the same day, July 2, a small force of regulars, together with the "Rough Riders," led by Colonel Roosevelt, made a brilliant charge resulting in the capture of San Juan.

Santiago was now menaced by the American forces, so Admiral Cervera determined to make a bold dash for liberty with the Spanish fleet, hoping to be able to elude the American blockading squadrons. On July 3, the Spanish fleet slipped past the sunken collier Merrimac, with which the Americans had attempted to block the narrow entrance to the harbor, and sped down the coast pursued by the entire American fleet under its acting head, Commodore Schley. In a wild running fight lasting but a few hours the entire enemy fleet was destroyed. Nearly 600 Spaniards were killed, and 1,400 were captured. The American loss was one man killed and one wounded.

A few days after this naval battle, General Toral surrendered Santiago to General Shafter. Practically the whole of Cuba now fell under American control. General Nelson Miles had already seized Porto Rico, meeting with very little resistance on the part of the Spaniards. All operations were now brought to an end by the signing of a protocol of peace, on August 12. This armistice was called to await the outcome of peace negotiations asked for by Spain. Due to unhealthful conditions in Cuba and to the lack of proper food and medical attention, American soldiers were dying by thousands. Over ninety per cent of our losses in the war came through disease rather than from Spanish bullets. A petition signed by many of the officers in Cuba was followed by the withdrawal of most of the American troops. These were sent to Long Island, that they might recuperate from the effects of the short campaign.

3. *Results of the Spanish American War.*—Measured by results the war was one of the most important of modern times. By the Treaty of Paris, ratified early in 1899, Spain relinquished all hold on Cuba, ceded outright Porto Rico and Guam to the United States, and for a consideration of \$20,000,000 ceded the entire Philippine archipelago to this country.

The war marked the end of Spanish rule in the Western Hemisphere and left Spain no longer a first-class power in Europe. The United States secured valuable colonies and of necessity committed herself to a policy of expansion, and rose in the estimation of world powers. Possession of the Philippines opened wonderful opportunities for development of American trade in Asia, and required permanent maintenance of a strong naval organization.

OTHER IMPORTANT EVENTS.

1. *Annexation of Hawaii*.—By a joint resolution of Congress, July, 1898, the Hawaiian Islands were annexed to the United States, and in 1900 were organized as a territory. The acquisition of these islands was partly a war measure. Their favorable location in mid-Pacific (The "Cross Roads of the Pacific") made them ideal as a naval base.

2. *Platt Amendment*.—Having wrested Cuba from Spain, the United States had no intention of assuming permanent possession of the island. Upon the re-establishment of stable political conditions the United States was to relinquish direct control, but Cuba was to be given independence under certain reservations. Most of these were embodied in the "Platt Amendment" attached in 1900 to an army appropriation bill, and were as follows: Cuba was to make no treaties with foreign powers contrary to the interests of the United States; she must not incur any debts greater than could be paid from the revenues of the country; sites for naval bases were to be ceded to the United States; that the United States reserved the right to intervene in the event of political disorders; that sanitary precautions be taken in all Cuban ports, etc.

In 1901, after a constitution approved by the United States had been adopted, a republican form of government was set up with General Palma as the first president. For ten years, however, United States forces were maintained on the island. During this period Cuba benefited greatly, in wise legislation, commercial and industrial growth, in educational development, and in the safeguarding of the public health.

3. *Insurrection in the Philippines*.—No sooner had it become plain to the Filipinos that Spain's loss of the islands would not mean independence for the natives, than an insurrection broke out against American rule. When it was found that the insurgents could not make a successful stand against American troops, as evidenced by several severe defeats, the natives discarded uniforms and began a desperate guerilla warfare, under the leadership of Aguinaldo. Handicapped in almost every respect, the small American force in the islands

struggled for months to restore and maintain a semblance of order. At length a bold stroke on the part of General Funston resulted in the capture of Aguinaldo, after which the revolt rapidly subsided. For nearly twenty years the United States has been engaged in improving conditions in the Islands, until today the Philippines have become a worthy model of what wise and just administration may do for a people.

4. *Boxer Rebellion*.—In 1900 an element of the Chinese, known as "Boxers," resenting the growth of foreign influence in China, gained control of the northeastern region about Peking, and at once began a murderous attack on all foreigners and against all things Western. With the secret sympathy and aid of the Chinese government, the movement spread, resulting in the murder of a number of missionaries, the German minister, and others. The foreign diplomats and their families sought refuge in the British legation, where for several weeks they were besieged by thousands of Boxers, who had now gained complete control of Peking.

In concert with British, French, German, Italian, and Japanese troops, United States forces aided in the relief of the foreigners. In a combined attack on Peking the allied forces captured the city and soon restored order.

The dismemberment of China would probably have followed the Boxer affair had not the United States exerted its influence in favor of a different punishment for the Chinese government. Secretary of State John Hay had much to do with our "Open Door Policy" in China being accepted by the various European powers. For failure to put down the Boxer uprising the Chinese government was forced to pay a heavy indemnity.

5. *The Election of 1900*.—The presidential election of 1900 was similar in many respects to that in 1896. The same candidates, McKinley and Bryan, were before the people. The platforms of Democratic and Republican parties were little different from those in 1896, except for the fact that the Democrats declared against foreign expansion, particularly in the matter of holding the Philippines. This question of imperialism or anti-imperialism remained a paramount issue for several years. McKinley's personal popularity, together with the fact that free silver had been made somewhat a dead issue by the great Klondike and Alaskan gold strikes, brought about a second defeat for Bryan.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATIONS. •

1901-1909.

1. *Assassination of McKinley*.—President McKinley had been in office but a few months of his second term when he was assassinated at Buffalo, while holding a public reception at the Pan-American Exposition held in that city. His vice-president, Theodore Roosevelt, at once took the oath of office, and continued, for the most part, to carry out his predecessor's policies. In addition, however, in his first message to Congress, Roosevelt advocated a number of radical reforms. We shall take up separately those in which he succeeded in obtaining constructive legislation.

2. *Anthracite Coal Strike*.—In 1902 a great strike in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania brought about a serious fuel famine, particularly in the East. Roosevelt established a precedent by forcing upon the miners and the coal operators his services as a mediator. The strike was settled in short order on a basis of justice for both parties.

3. *Prosecution of the Trusts*.—After the Spanish-American War, the period of industrial prosperity brought with it a great increase in the number of corporations or trusts. Some of these had become so powerful and arrogant that they were defying the laws of not only the states, but also of the United States. Roosevelt, through his attorney-general, started nearly forty suits against them, under the Sherman Anti-trust Law, with the effect that some of the most objectionable practices of these powerful monopolies were stopped. Under Roosevelt organized labor made great strides in securing its rights, with comparatively little disorder. The President favored labor unions when they conducted their strikes properly, but lawlessness of all kinds he considered intolerable.

4. *Conservation*.—Roosevelt, in accordance with his policy of conservation of national resources, secured from Congress authorization to set apart as national domain several hundred thousand acres of forest and mineral lands. This prevented the sale to private companies of valuable coal lands in Alaska and elsewhere, and also protected a number of forested areas at the headwaters of some of our large rivers.

5. *Reclamation*.—A reclamation act was passed in 1902, which provided for the irrigation of thousands of acres of arid land in our Southwest. Great dams were to be built in the mountains at national expense and the water was to be sold to settlers in the dry regions. The building of the Roosevelt dam in Arizona is a typical instance of this work.

6. *Panama Canal*.—Under Roosevelt the Panama Canal project was at last put through. The old Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850,

which would have prevented the United States from exercising a free hand in the construction of the waterway, was abrogated by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1902, by which this government secured sole rights to build and control the canal. Great Britain, however, stipulated that there must be no discrimination with regard to the use of the canal by foreign shipping. The French rights in Panama, where years before an unsuccessful attempt had been made to build a canal, were bought for \$40,000,000, and a treaty, known as the Hay-Herran Treaty was arranged with Colombia, through whose territory the canal was to be built. The Colombian senate, however, refused to ratify this and held out for an exorbitant price for a canal zone. Panama, the northern province of Colombia, now rose in revolt and had its independence immediately recognized by the United States. We now negotiated direct with Panama for a canal zone, and by what is known as the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty secured perpetual lease to a strip of territory ten miles wide and about fifty miles long.

It was determined to build a lock canal in preference to one at sea-level. Work actually began in 1904, and continued under Presidents Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson. The canal was formally opened in 1915, but for some months its usefulness was impaired by a succession of destructive slides that blocked the waterway, and which had to be removed at the expense of much time and labor.

As an engineering feat, the building of the Panama Canal stands as one of the world's greatest achievements. To Colonel Goethals, of the United States Army, and his corps of efficient assistants is due much of the credit for overcoming the many natural obstacles and difficulties in the way of success. Profiting by the disastrous attempt on the part of the French, the United States, by improved methods of sanitation on the isthmus, practically eliminated the dread yellow fever which otherwise would have claimed thousands of American victims. The Canal Zone today, instead of being one of the most unhealthful spots on the globe, has a death rate little higher than New Orleans and other American cities.

While the greatest value of the Panama Canal will accrue to the United States, world traffic as a whole will be greatly benefited. The route from New York to San Francisco has been cut to hardly more than a third of its former distance. From a naval standpoint the Canal is of inestimable value to the United States, since our fleets can readily be concentrated in either the Atlantic or the Pacific at a few hour's notice.

7. *Improvements in Consular Service.*—Prior to the Spanish-American War many of our consuls abroad, to whom were entrusted our foreign commercial relations, were wholly unfitted for their positions and did little or nothing to maintain or build up American trade. Hence it was imperative that, having committed itself to a policy of territorial expansion abroad, the government must remedy the defects in the consular service if it hoped to compete successfully for trade in the Asiatic and other markets. Under Roosevelt a weeding-out process took place, and competitive examinations furnished a higher class of men for commercial service abroad.

8. *Bureau of American Republics.*—A widespread recognition of a need for closer and more cordial relations between the United States and the Latin-American republics to the south led to the organization at Washington of the Bureau of American Republics. Our presence at Panama and our efforts toward trade expansion were important factors in bringing about a closer relationship with these sister republics.

9. *Extension of the Monroe Doctrine.*—Roosevelt extended the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine and established a precedent when, in order to satisfy European creditors of Santo Domingo, he appointed a receiver to manage its bankrupt treasury with a view to restoring the country to a firm financial basis after its obligation had been met. The United States has since followed this policy of assuming the responsibility for the collection of debts owed by the weaker American republics.

10. *The Election of 1904.*—In the election of 1904 Roosevelt was elected, defeating the Democratic candidate, Alton B. Parker, and carrying every state north of the Mason and Dixon line, and even invading the "Solid South."

11. *Hepburn Rate Bill.*—The Hepburn Rate Bill was passed enlarging the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission in order to give that body greater control over the railroads, which were establishing excessive and unfair rates to shippers in various parts of the country. By the new act the Interstate Commerce Commission was empowered to fix rates for roads engaged in interstate business.

12. *Pure Food and Drug Acts.*—An investigation of the meat packing houses of the middle West was followed by the establishment of a rigid system of government inspection of meats and other products. At the same time the people were further protected by the passage of pure food and drug acts.

13. *Treaty of Portsmouth.*—In 1905 the Russo-Japanese War was brought to an end largely through the efforts of Roosevelt. Commis-

sioners from Japan and Russia met at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and there drew up a treaty. The Treaty of Portsmouth marked a notable diplomatic achievement of the United States, and was an evidence of the respect in which this nation is held abroad. For his work in bringing about the conference the President was awarded the famous Nobel Peace Prize.

14. *Trip of the Fleet Around the World*.—Roosevelt was always a "big navy" man and during his term secured legislation that brought our navy to a high point of efficiency. A sixteen battleship fleet was sent around the world (1907-1909), the first instance of the kind. Friendly visits were paid to almost every important foreign port. The fleet was in the Mediterranean at the time of the Messina disaster following the violent eruption of Vesuvius, and extended valuable aid in caring for the homeless survivors.

15. *Election of 1908*.—So popular with all classes was Roosevelt at the end of his administration that he was enabled practically to make Secretary of War William H. Taft his successor. With the President's support Taft easily won over William Jennings Bryan, who for the third time was the Democratic nominee. Immediately after the election Roosevelt started on an extended hunting trip to Africa in the interests of the Smithsonian Institute at Washington.

WILLIAM H. TAFT'S ADMINISTRATION.

1909-1913.

As President, Taft held to many of the policies of his predecessor, particularly as to the regulation of corporations and transportation lines, conservation, and reform in administrative methods. In many states, during the decade preceding his term, radical changes were made in state constitutions and laws in order to give the people more direct control of the governments, state and national. Among these innovations were direct primaries, initiative, referendum and recall, features of which were adopted by many states. The woman suffrage movement grew steadily as did the prohibition movement for abolishing the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors.

1. *Payne-Aldrich Tariff*.—The Republicans in their 1908 platform had pledged themselves to downward revision of the tariff. The steady rise in the prices of necessities such as food, clothing, etc., had begun to arouse popular discontent. The Republican party had promised to alleviate these conditions by tariff changes. Congress met in special session in March, 1909, and after months of discussion finally passed the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill, which slightly reduced some duties and increased others. A corporation tax of one per cent was

laid on the net earnings of companies having a profit above \$5,000 a year. On the whole, however, the Payne-Aldrich tariff marked an upward revision of the tariff rather than a downward revision.

2. *The Progressive Movement.*—At this time there was rapidly developing within the Republican party a spirit of dissension that, before the end of Taft's administration, resulted in an open break between two great elements in the party. It soon became clear that the Payne-Aldrich Act was a disappointment to the country at large. The sponsors for the act were the old line or "stand-pat" Republicans. A reform branch of the party called themselves "Progressives," and were known as "Insurgents" by their enemies in the more conservative branch of the party. The "Progressives" included in their ranks those Republicans who were advocates of a lower tariff, those who believed that Speaker Cannon exercised a despotic and unjust control of the House, and a group of radical Westerners who were pioneers in introducing political reforms in their own states. Although the Progressives and the Stand-patters agreed in principle in many instances, fierce quarrels arose over details, particularly in the matter of conservation.

3. *Revolt Against Speaker Cannon.*—In 1910 the Republican Insurgents in cooperation with the Democratic members succeeded in overthrowing the power of Speaker Cannon in the House of Representatives. The rules of the House were so amended that Cannon was forced off the Committee on Rules. Thus he was stripped of much of his former power because the Rules Committee arranges the entire calendar of the House and can keep any bill from coming up to a vote which does not meet the approval of the committee. The Rules Committee was now enlarged to fifteen members and elected by the House. Widespread dissatisfaction with the Taft administration is clearly evidenced by the Congressional election of 1910, which gave the Democrats an overwhelming majority in the House.

4. *Reciprocity.*—The President hoped to make reciprocity with Canada one of the features of his administration. Canadian goods were to be admitted to the United States duty free and in return United States products were to be permitted free access to Canada. A treaty was at length drawn up and ratified by the United States, but was decisively rejected by Canada in 1911.

5. *New Mexico and Arizona.*—In 1910 Congress gave to the territories of New Mexico and Arizona permission to submit state constitutions. In 1912 these states were admitted to the Union, making the total number of states forty-eight.

6. *Parcel Post*.—Taft's administration marked a notable improvement in mail service. Chiefly through the efforts of Congressman David Lewis of Maryland a parcel post was established. This did much to free the country from the monopolies exercised by the express companies.

7. *Election of 1912*.—Roosevelt had returned from abroad much displeased with Taft's management of the affairs of the country. In the spring of 1912 the former president announced his intention of seeking the Republican nomination. The anti-Taft men rallied about him while the Stand-patters determined to support Taft for a second term. This led to a bitter contest between the two factions. The Republican convention met in Chicago and after refusing to seat a number of delegates pledged to Roosevelt, declared Taft the choice of the party. The Roosevelt faction immediately bolted the convention, called a convention of their own and under the name of the "Progressive Party" nominated Roosevelt, on a platform for radical political and social reforms.

The Democratic party was quick to see its opportunity in the split in the Republican party. At its convention in Baltimore in June, the party at first hesitated between Champ Clark, of Missouri, and Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey. After over forty ballots had been taken without a choice, the weight of Bryan's tremendous influence in the West threw the nomination to Wilson.

The fact that three candidates were in the field resulted in the election of Wilson, although he received fewer votes than were cast for the two Republican candidates. Moreover, the Democrats had secured a majority in both Houses of Congress.

WOODROW WILSON'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

1913-1917.

1. From the very beginning of his term Wilson went about the conduct of affairs in the country in a manner that left little doubt as to his powers of leadership. His comprehensive grasp of the problems confronting him and his superb control of Congress resulted in much constructive legislation of lasting benefit to the nation. His first Cabinet was comprised of several men of exceptional ability. It was as follows: Secretary of State, William J. Bryan; Secretary of Treasury, William J. McAdoo; Secretary of War, Garrison; Attorney-General, McReynolds; Postmaster-General, Burleson; Secretary of Navy, Daniels; Secretary of Interior, Lane; Secretary of Agriculture, Houston; Secretary of Commerce, Redfield; and Secretary of Labor, W. B. Wilson.

Secretaries Bryan, Garrison, McAdoo and Attorney-General McReynolds were later succeeded by Lansing, Baker, Glass and Gregory, respectively. Gregory recently was superseded by Palmer.

2. *The Underwood Tariff*.—Soon after his inauguration President Wilson called an extra session of Congress to obtain needed tariff legislation. A few months later the Underwood Tariff Bill became law. By it the duties were reduced from about 40 per cent as fixed by the Payne-Aldrich Act to 26 per cent average. The reduction was designed to lower the high cost of living, since most of the commodities placed on the free list or greatly reduced were necessities, such as food, farm implements, lumber, wool, sugar, cotton, cattle, etc. At the same time an income tax was laid to make up the loss in revenue. However, before it could be shown whether or not the Underwood Tariff would really have any effect in lessening the high cost of living the great European War broke out, making abnormal industrial and economic conditions in this country.

3. *Federal Reserve Act*.—The difficulty of securing credit for legitimate business enterprises and the monopolizing of much of the capital of the country by a so-called money trust pointed to the need of an ampler and more flexible currency to meet business needs. According to the financiers of the country this condition was due more to our old fashioned and outgrown banking system rather than to Wall Street manipulation. With a view to remedying these currency defects, Congress, in 1913, passed the Federal Reserve Act, or Glass-Owen Act, which divided the United States into twelve federal districts in each of which is established a federal reserve bank. Six per cent of the capital of the national banks in each district is used as the capital for the federal reserve bank in that district. A federal reserve board at the head of which is the Secretary of the Treasury controls the reserve banks and fixes rules for the administration of the thousands of national banks in the country.

4. *Sixteenth and Seventeenth Amendments*.—The Sixteenth Amendment, providing for a tax on incomes, was adopted early in 1913, just before Wilson's inauguration. The Seventeenth Amendment, adopted a little later, provides for the direct election of senators by the people rather than by state legislatures, as was formerly the practice.

5. *Repeal of Free Toll Act*.—During Taft's administration an act exempting American coastwise shipping from the payment of toll for use of the Panama Canal was passed. This act was manifestly in violation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty with Great Britain, which provided that there should be no discrimination in favor of the shipping

of any nation. Consequently, Congress, early in 1914, repealed the Free Tolls Act at the request of the President.

6. *United States Intervention in Mexico.*—For many months Mexico had been torn by internal disorders due to revolutionary movements, with their attendant destruction of American property and menace to the lives of our citizens in that country. Affairs moved rapidly to a crisis when in February, 1913, the murder of President Madero precipitated pitched battles in the streets of the Mexican capital. An insurgent named Huerta gained the upper hand and proclaimed himself President. President Wilson, who had been maintaining a policy of "watchful waiting," refused recognition to the Huerta government. Conditions steadily grew worse in Mexico, and foreign nations importuned the United States to take decisive steps to restore order. In April, 1914, Huerta ordered the seizure of a party of American sailors who had landed at Tampico to secure supplies. Immediately following this incident a powerful fleet was ordered to Tampico, and the President received authorization from Congress to use force in upholding the dignity of the United States, and in protecting the interests of our citizens. Admiral Fletcher was at once ordered to occupy Vera Cruz. A detachment of marines was landed and gained control of the city after losing seventeen men. During the summer of 1914 American forces remained at Vera Cruz, until in July, Huerta fled from the country in the face of the growing power of his rival Carranza. Wilson then withdrew our forces from the city.

In 1915 Carranza found himself master of the southern half of Mexico including the capital. The northern provinces were, however, still in the grip of a bandit chieftain named Villa. Angered because the United States had maintained friendly relations with Carranza, Villa, in March, 1916, raided across our border, and at Columbus, New Mexico, killed nearly a score of soldiers and civilians, and wounded many others. Additional troops were at once ordered to the border, and a punitive expedition was quickly organized under command of General John Pershing. With Carranza's permission, Pershing's force entered Mexico and hotly pursued Villa for 150 miles into the interior. After a few skirmishes with the brigand and his men, the Americans were forced to retire north of the border without having achieved their purpose of capturing him. Situations arising from the European War now absorbed the attention of the Administration to the exclusion of Mexican affairs.

7. *Some effects of the European War.*—When war first broke out in Europe in the summer of 1914, the people of the United States had no other thought than that of maintaining the strictest neutrality as

regarded the struggle across the water. From the very beginning of the conflict, however, Germany's manner of conducting her activities on land and sea was such that no fair minded people could long remain neutral in thought or action. With the German government alone rests the responsibility of awakening in the United States the spirit of intense antagonism for all things German, that at last led the United States to take up the sword in the interest of humanity. The ruthless invasion of Belgium with its attendant massacre of non-combatants was viewed with horror by the majority of American citizens. Germany's avowed purpose of engaging in a submarine blockade of the British Isles was regarded with grave apprehension in this country, since it was evident that such a course would seriously menace neutral lives and property. President Wilson in a note to the Imperial government voiced a warning to the effect that Germany would be held to strict accountability for all American lives or property destroyed. Despite this warning, sinkings of United States merchant ships were almost weekly occurrences. The crowning horror of the submarine campaign, however, occurred in May, 1915, when the Cunard liner, *Lusitania*, was sunk by a German submarine with the loss of over a thousand lives, including 114 Americans. There were many Americans who believed that the *Lusitania* affair furnished a good and sufficient cause for our declaration of war on Germany, but President Wilson was determined that nothing should be left undone in an effort to prevent the United States from being drawn into the struggle. For over a year our government contented itself with the sending of notes to Germany, most of which met with evasive or deceptive answers.

In the meantime German and Austrian agents were busy in the United States. Propagandists were at work everywhere trying to poison the minds of American citizens against the Allies, particularly England. An epidemic of strikes, destructive fires of incendiary source, and bomb plots, were of German origin and designed to terrorize American industry and commerce. German-Americans, who were oftentimes in the pay of the Fatherland, were largely responsible for these outrages. In the fall of 1915 it was found that many of the strikes in munition plants had been planned and supervised by the Austrian Ambassador, Dr. Dumba, and his recall was at once demanded. At the same time investigation showed that an army of German spies in this country was being directed by Captain Boy-Ed, German naval attache, and Captain Von Papen, a military attache. These men were also sent out of the country.

8. *The Election of 1916.*—The presidential campaign of 1916 came at a time when the United States was momentarily in danger of

being drawn into the European conflict, which was still raging with unabated fury. At such a critical time it was extremely important that the American people exercise their best judgment in the choice of a leader. The Democratic Convention, which met in the summer of 1916, expressed its confidence in the President by supporting him for a second term. The Republican party, in its convention at Chicago, nominated Charles E. Hughes, a Supreme Court justice, on a platform of military "preparedness," firmness in our dealings with Mexico, and full American rights on the high seas.

In one of the closest elections in our history, Wilson, despite his loss of most of the important Eastern and Middle Western states, won over Hughes by an electoral vote of 276 to 255. So close was the result that the issue was actually in doubt for several days. On the night following the election many strong Democratic newspapers conceded a sweeping victory for the Republicans. At length, however, belated returns showed that Wilson had gained California and with it the election.

PART PLAYED BY THE UNITED STATES IN THE GREAT WAR.

1. *Severance of Diplomatic Relations with Germany.*—Early in 1917 Germany declared her intention of resuming unrestricted submarine warfare. This declaration was a clear breach of the pledges given the United States following the sinking of the liner *Sussex* in the summer of 1916. Furthermore, it was found that Count Von Bernstorff, German Ambassador to the United States, had used the protection accorded him as a diplomatic representative, as a cover for directing German activities of the worst kind in this country. A note signed by the German Foreign Secretary Zimmerman, came into the possession of the State Department, which showed conclusively that Germany had been plotting with Mexico, and had even offered Mexico a part of southwestern United States in the event of German success. Wilson hesitated no longer and early in February broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. Our ambassador was recalled from Berlin and Bernstorff was dismissed.

2. *Arming of Merchant Ships.*—On February 26 the President asked Congress for authority to arm American merchant ships. Congress was overwhelmingly in favor of this course, but a few Senators, whose motives were probably anything but patriotic, blocked the will of the majority by taking advantage of defects in the Senate rules. The President, however, after consulting with the Attorney-General,

proceeded with the arming of the ships. The first of these armed vessels to traverse the submarine zone was the liner *St. Louis*.

3. *Declaration of War*.—The continued aggressions of the U-boats and the popular indignation over the Zimmerman note let the President to take the final step. On April 2 he appeared before Congress and asked that that body recognize the existence of a state of war between the United States and the German government, and that authority be given him to make use of the army and navy. April 6, 1917, Congress made a virtual declaration of war against Germany.

4. *Preparations for Conducting the War*.—Prior to our going to war with Germany very little had actually been done toward the organization of such a formidable military force as would be needed. The Navy was, however, ready for service immediately. In less than a month after the opening of hostilities our destroyer fleet was co-operating with Allied ships in the war zone. It was apparent to all that the volunteer system for securing men for the army was inadequate. It was very wisely decided that a form of selective draft be put into operation, so in May the President signed the Selective Service Act, which called for registration nearly ten million Americans, between the ages of 21 and 31. Headed by General Crowder, a system of draft boards was organized throughout the country for the selecting of men for active service. Great training camps were established at various points and to these were sent the National Guardsmen and thousands of men provided through the draft. These were given several months' intensive training before being sent overseas.

Moreover, the industries of the country had to be reorganized and placed on a war footing. Vast quantities of munitions, arms of all kinds, clothing, motor trucks, and aeroplanes were needed, and had to be provided with the least possible delay. Fortunately, hundreds of munition plants were already in operation, many of them having been supplying Allied needs for months. These were at once taken over by the United States government. Plants manufacturing peace time commodities were in many instances turned over to the government for the manufacture of war supplies. Work was speeded up in ship construction and scores of new yards were established, to which were attracted skilled workmen and laborers from all parts of the interior. Many of the shrewdest and brainiest business men in the country, each an expert in his own particular line, for the time being put aside their own interests, and served without pay in executive and advisory positions at Washington. Aeroplane manufacture was standardized, as was the manufacture of motor trucks. A form of standardized ship, known as the fabricated ship, was designed. the

parts being turned out in great quantities at various plants in the interior of the country and then assembled at points on the coast. Great quantities of all kinds of war supplies were purchased by the government and stored at Atlantic coast ports, to be sent to Europe as fast as shipping could be diverted to government service. The transportation and communication lines of the country (railroads, telegraphs, telephones, etc.) were commandeered by the government and administered by it in the interests of war time efficiency. Food Administrator Hoover and Fuel Administrator Garfield set about conserving the country's supply of food and fuel. The public responded cheerfully and did its best to observe wheatless days, meatless days, gasolineless Sundays, heatless days, etc.

5. *Preliminary Work of the Army in France*.—Major-General Pershing was chosen to command the United States army to be sent to Europe. Early in the summer of 1917 Pershing, with a small force of regulars reached France and immediately began to prepare the way for the coming of the enormous force that had already begun training in the United States. Pershing's first step was the formation of an efficient general staff, modeled on French lines. Due to the congested conditions in the ports of northern France, which were taxed to their utmost to provide facilities for the British, it was necessary that the Americans make use of the southwestern ports, from Brest to Berdeaux. Miles of docks had to be built, immense supply depots had to be constructed both along the coast and at points central to the theatre of the war, and hundreds of miles of railroad laid down to supplement the wholly inadequate French system. Pershing and his staff attacked these colossal tasks with such energy that the work was soon well under way, despite the fact that much of the materials used had to be transported from the United States. By the end of 1917 the United States had an army of about 300,000 men in France, consisting chiefly of Regulars, former National Guardsmen, and Marines. This force, however, was still in training back of the battle front or was brigaded with the French and British in quiet sectors, and hence had taken part in no general engagements with the enemy.

6. *War Loans*.—Much of the money needed by the government to meet its enormous war expenditures was raised by means of Liberty Loan campaigns in which government bonds were offered to the people. In all there were five such loans, the last of which was known as the Victory Loan. These government bonds bore interest at a rate as high as 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ %. Moreover, the American public contributed generously toward the war activities of such organizations as the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Knights of Columbus, Salvation Army, and Red Cross.

7. *How the United States Solved its Shipping Problems.*—When the United States entered the war, there were in our harbors about ninety interned German vessels. Immediately upon the declaration of war these vessels were seized. Many of them were found to have been damaged by their crews to such an extent that their engines could not be used without extensive repairs. In a surprisingly short time, however, the ships were ready for sea. A number of German liners were converted into transports. Among these was the former German liner *Imperator*, rechristened the *Leviathan*, and capable of carrying on a single trip 10,000 troops. Furthermore, the United States secured considerable tonnage from South American nations and later from Great Britain and Holland. During the first year of our participation in the war by far the greater part of this shipping was used for the transport of supplies and materials of all kinds, for the immediate use of our forces in France, and for an enormous reserve supply such as would later be needed by the two or three million soldiers that the government expected eventually to send overseas.

The submarine menace was an ever-present factor in the difficulties to be made in sending troops and supplies overseas. Prior to the summer of 1917 the U-boats had exacted terrible toll in lives, ships and materials. Consequently, the safeguarding of American transports and merchant vessels was a task of prime importance, and was very wisely entrusted to the Navy. By means of the convoy system fleets consisting of a score or more of vessels were passed safely through the danger zone. Destroyers, ever vigilant, spend here and there among the slow moving craft, ready to open fire or drop a depth charge whenever a periscope might appear.

8. *American Troops in Action.*—Late in March, 1918, the much heralded German offensive began. For months the enemy had been concentrating men and supplies for this super-attack, intended to break down the weakened French and British armies, to quickly bring about the fall of Paris, and thus end the war in Germany's favor. American supply movement overseas had now given way to a great extent to troop movement, at the urgent appeals of the British and French for men. American troops were pouring into France at the rate of thousands each week. General Pershing immediately placed his entire force, numbering at that time about 350,000 men at the disposal of the supreme commander, Marshal Foch. Fresh American troops were soon to be arriving in France at the rate of 300,000 per month.

Week after week the Germans pressed on, slowly shortening their distance to Paris in spite of the desperate resistance of the British and

French. At last, late in May, the Americans were thrown into the thickest of the fighting. At Cantigny, on May 28, troops of the First Division successfully carried through their first engagement. A few days later (June 4) the Second Division of Regulars and Marines went into the line on the Marne, at a point where any further Allied retreat would have meant the loss of Paris. On June 15 this division stopped the advance of the enemy, and in an impetuous charge drove them back several hundred yards. This fight at Belleau Wood was the first serious setback that the Hun had encountered, and the stopping of his advance relieved Paris from immediate danger.

On July 15 the enemy resumed the attack from Chateau Thierry eastward to the Argonne. Six American divisions were thrown into line at Chateau Thierry, and three days later the great German drive was over. General Foch now launched his offensive, and from this time on the story is one of Allied attack and German retreat.

9. *Battle of St. Mihiel*.—On September 12, the First American Army, under the personal direction of General Pershing, launched its initial independent offensive. The German salient at St. Mihiel had for many months projected far into the Allied line in spite of several attempts to flatten it. Within twenty-four hours after Pershing began his attack this heavily fortified salient had been wiped out, eastern France was free from menace, and German pressure on Verdun had been relieved. Meanwhile several smaller American forces had been giving great aid in their operations with the British.

10. *The Meuse-Argonne Offensive*.—From the viewpoint of military strategy, America's greatest contribution to the successful outcome of the war was the fiercely contested battle of the Meuse. On September 26 General Pershing drove in west of the Meuse with the First American Army in an effort to cut the main artery of the German supply system, the most important feature of which was the Sedan-Mezieres railway. In the first few days of the fighting considerable gains on the part of the Americans led the Germans to throw in division after division of fresh troops in an effort to stem the advance. In the ensuing weeks occurred the bitterest fighting in which American forces took part. There were now about thirty divisions of Pershing's force in the line, and on November 1 our troops broke through. Greater gains were now made each day until, on November 7, our forces were in the outskirts of Sedan, and were joined by the French who had come in on Pershing's left flank. The German main supply line was now definitely cut and a decisive and humiliating defeat had been forced upon the enemy. Nothing but surrender or armistice could now save the Germans from complete disaster.

Preparation were immediately made by General Pershing for an advance between the Meuse and the Moselle, with the view to isolating Metz, and attacks were already in progress when instructions were received that the German government had accepted General Foch's armistice terms and that hostilities were to cease at 11 o'clock on the morning of November 11.

11. *The Armistice.*—Lack of space forbids a statement in full of the text of the armistice terms. The substance of the agreement is, however, as follows:

- a. Immediate evacuation of invaded territory on the part of German forces.
- b. Repatriation at once of all inhabitants of said invaded countries, including hostages.
- c. Evacuation by the German armies of that part of Germany on the left bank of the Rhine; this territory to be occupied and administered by the Allied forces.
- d. A neutral zone to be established on the right bank of the Rhine between that stream and a line drawn parallel to it forty kilometers east of it.
- e. Surrender, in good condition, of the following German equipment: 5,000 pieces of artillery, 30,000 machine guns, 2,000 airplanes, 5,000 locomotives, 10,000 motor trucks, etc.
- f. No destruction of property in the area to be evacuated, no evacuation of inhabitants, or industrial equipment.
- g. Immediate repatriation without reciprocity of Allied prisoners of war, and the right of requisition to be exercised by Allied forces in all occupied territory.
- h. Immediate cessation of hostilities at sea, and definite information given as to the location of all German ships, mines, etc.
- i. Surrender to the Allies of all submarines, six battle cruisers, ten battleships, eight light cruisers, and fifty destroyers.
- j. Freedom of access to and from the Baltic and the Black Sea.

Similar armistices were at about the same time granted to Austria and Turkey.

SUBSTANCE OF WILSON'S FOURTEEN POINTS AS A BASIS OF PEACE.

Early in 1918 President Wilson in an address to Congress named fourteen points as essential in a consideration of peace. Stated in condensed form, they are as follows:

1. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at.
2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside of territorial waters, alike in peace as in war.

3. The removal, as far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among the nations.
4. Adequate guarantees given that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.
5. An open and impartial adjustment of all colonial claims.
6. The evacuation of all Russian territory.
7. Belgium to be evacuated and restored without any attempt to limit her sovereignty.
8. All French territory to be freed and the invaded portions restored.
9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy along the lines of nationality.
10. The people of Austria-Hungary to be accorded the freest opportunity for autonomous development.
11. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro to be evacuated, and occupied territories restored.
12. The sovereignty of the Turkish portions of the Ottoman empire to be assured, and the Dardanelles to be opened to world commerce without discrimination.
13. An independent Polish state to be established.
14. A general league of nations to be formed, under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

PRELIMINARIES TO THE DRAWING UP OF THE PEACE TREATY.

The Allied nations of Europe accepted, for the most part, President Wilson's Fourteen Point as the basis for peace consideration. Late in November, 1918, the President announced his intention of sailing for France for the purpose of taking part in the discussion and settlement of the main features of the treaty of peace. On December 4 he sailed from New York on the transport *George Washington*. The Peace Conference met in Versailles early in 1919 and at once took up its work. The conflicting claims of the various nations and the enormous mass of detail to be acted upon necessitated a session lasting for several months. During this time the spread of Bolshevism throughout eastern Europe and Germany further complicated the work of the peace delegates. By far the most conspicuous figures at the Conference were the "Big Four," Lloyd George, President Wilson, Clemenceau, and Orlando. President Wilson's great popularity abroad, together with the fact that, of all the Allied nations, the

United States was the least impaired in its strength and resources, proved a potent factor in the making of a treaty consistent with American ideals. On May 7, 1919, the official text of the terms was made public. At first the acting government of Germany avowed its purpose of refusing to accept the treaty, but a few weeks later it bowed to the inevitable and the treaty was signed.

CONDENSED OUTLINE OF THE PEACE TREATY.

I. SECTION ONE.

1. *League of Nations*:

- a. Membership.*—Members will be the signatories of the covenant and other states invited to accede.
- b. Secretariat.*—A permanent secretariat to be established at the seat of the league, which will be at Geneva.
- c. Assembly.*—Assembly to consist of representatives of the members of the league and will meet at stated intervals. Voting to be by states, each member to have one vote.
- d. Council.*—Council will consist of representatives of the five great allied powers, together with representatives of four other members.
- e. Armaments.*—Council will formulate plans for reduction of armaments.
- f. Prevention of War.*—Upon any war or threat of war Council will meet to consider common action. Members pledged to submit matters of dispute to arbitration.
- g. Validity of Treaties.*—All treaties to be registered with the secretariat, and published.
- h. Mandatories.*—The care of nations not yet able to stand by themselves will be entrusted to advanced nations. This tutelage to be under what is known as the mandatory system.
- i. General international provisions.*

II. SECTION TWO.

1. *Boundaries of Germany.*

- a.* Germany cedes to France Alsace-Lorraine.
- b.* To Belgium two small districts between Luxemburg and Holland.
- c.* To Poland the cession of 27,000 square miles from eastern Germany.
- d.* Danzig to be internationalized.

III. SECTION THREE.

1. *Belgium.*

a. Germany to consent to abrogation of Treaty of 1839.

2. *Luxemburg.*

a. Germany renounces her various treaties with Luxemburg and recognizes that it has ceased to have any connection with the empire.

3. *Left Bank of Rhine.*

a. To be left as specified in armistice.

4. *Saar Basin.*

In compensation for the destruction of coal mines in northern France, and as payment on account of reparation, Germany cedes to France full ownership of the coal mines of the Saar Basin.

IV. SECTION FOUR.

1. *Czecho-Slovak State.*—Germany recognizes the total independence of German-Austria and of the Czecho-Slovak State.

2. *Denmark.*—The frontier between Germany and Denmark to be fixed by the self-determination of the populace.

3. *Helgoland.*—To be demolished at the expense of Germany.

4. *Russia.*—Germany to recognize the independence of all territories that were part of the former Russian Empire, and to agree to abrogation of Brest-Litovsk Treaty.

V. SECTION FIVE.

1. All German concessions and territory in China must be renounced. Germany to lose African colonies.

2. Shantung ceded to Japan.

3. Germany recognizes British protectorate over Egypt.

4. Germany accepts all arrangements made by Allied powers with Turkey and Bulgaria.

5. Germany to accept the League of Nations, but is not to become a member at once.

VI. SECTION SIX.

1. German army is limited to 100,000 men, and conscription is barred.

2. All fortifications for 30 miles east of Rhine to be destroyed.

4. Kiel Canal to be opened to all nations.

5. Germany to be allowed 6 small battleships, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers, 12 torpedo boats, and no submarines.

6. Armed forces of Germany must not include any military or naval air forces.
7. Allies to hold selected German officers until Germany has surrendered persons guilty of offenses against the laws and customs of war.

VII. SECTION SEVEN.

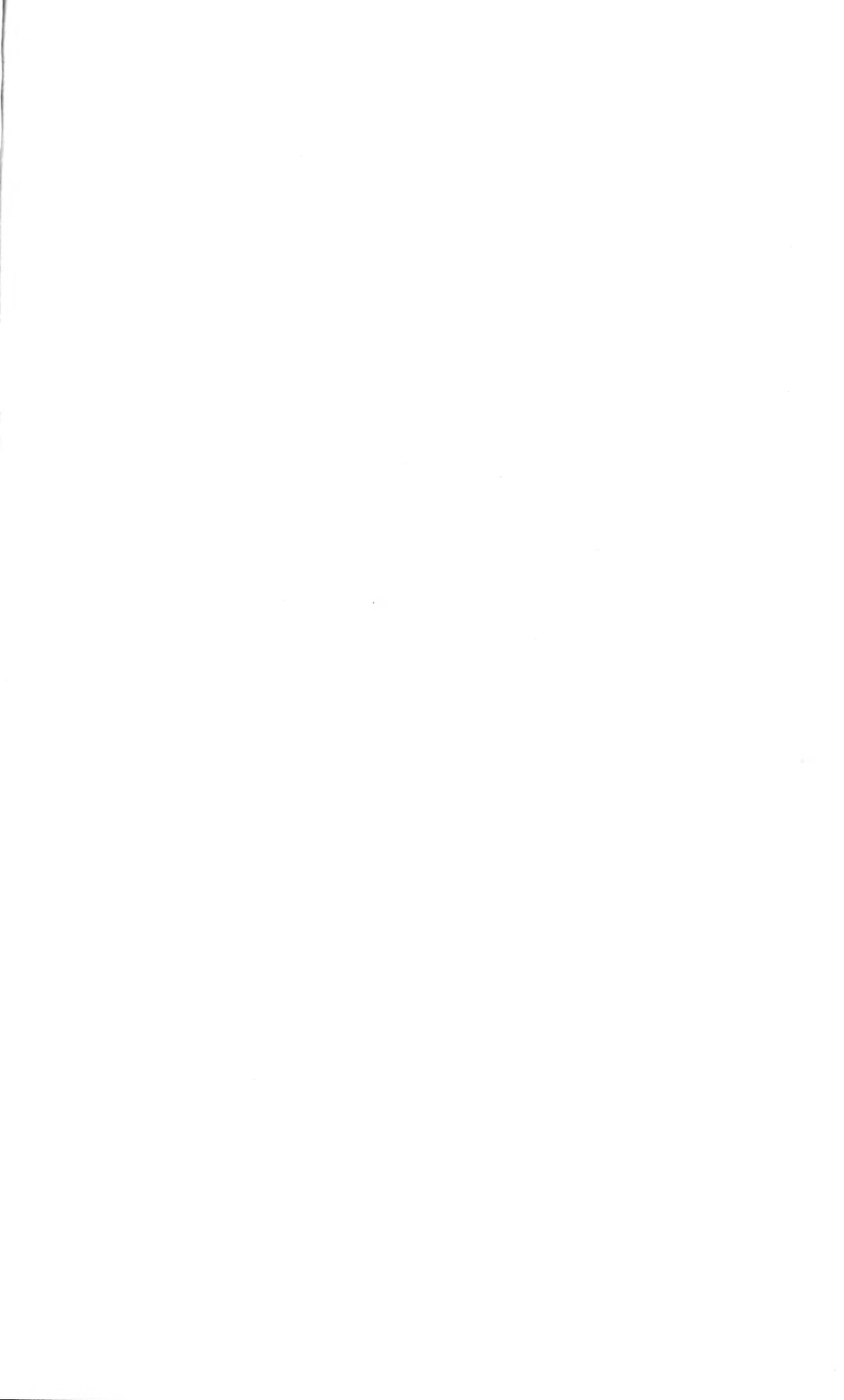
1. William Hohenzollern, former Emperor of Germany to be tried by special tribunal selected by Allied powers.

VIII. SECTION EIGHT.

1. All civilian damages to be reimbursed by Germany.
2. Germany to make an initial step toward reparation by the payment of 20,000,000,000 marks within two years.
4. Germany renounces all title to disputed cables.

IX. SECTIONS NINE-FIFTEEN.—Consist chiefly of amplifications of the above mentioned points, and of stipulations as to the manner in which these decrees are to be carried out.

NOTE:—The peace terms are likely to be subjected to certain minor changes and modifications before being ratified by all parties to the agreement.







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